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POLITICAL REGISTER,

SETTING FORTH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WHIG AND
LOCOFOCO PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES,

WITH THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HENRY CLAY.

ALSO

AN APPENDIX PERSONAL TO THE AUTHOR;

AND

A GENERAL INDEX.

BY WILLIAM G. BROWNLOW
Editor of the Jonesboro' Whig.

JONESBOROUGH, TENN.

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DEDICATION.

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY JAMES C. JONES.

SIR:—I DEDICATE to you this volume on *National Politics*, as an acknowledgment of your untiring zeal for the cause of truth—your distinguished services in the Whig cause in Tennessee—and your friendly and gratifying attention to me for the last several years, during which time we have been members of the same great party, and fellow-laborers and fellow-sufferers, in the same glorious cause—the cause of the people, the cause of the country, and the cause of RELIGION!

In dedicating to you this volume, which has for its objects, the defence of sound principles, the refutation of certain destructive errors, and the advocacy of HENRY CLAY, the greatest man now living—I have been induced to shelter it under your patronage, by considerations of a much higher nature than the formal and customary honor of addressing men in this way. To whom, as a tribute of respect, could this honor be more appropriately paid, than to one, who, among all the candidates in this State, in 1839, alone openly, boldly, and triumphantly advocated HENRY CLAY upon the stump? Not only so, but you have twice since then, in two hard fought battles, carried this State for CLAY and the Whig cause, against the most fearful odds. But having enlarged on these topics in a separate chapter in this work, I will not repeat what is there stated.

With a contempt of pleasure, rest, and ease, when called to fight the battles of your party, you have lived in a familiarity with dangers and difficulties, wholly disregarding personal sacrifices, or what might befall you in the discharge of duty. Long rides, and bad roads, through wet and dry, heat and cold, with the addition of hunger and thirst, industry, vigilance and patience of labor, have constituted your *enjoyments* for the last four years. Your warfare has also been with the indescribable

errors of those powers of darkness which invariably rally to the support of FALSEHOOD, and which never fail to assail those who are engaged in the defence of TRUTH. Yet, though you have been assailed, and slandered, you have not yielded ; yet, though you have been compassed with political enemies, from the depths you have called upon the PEOPLE ; and their eyes, from "the midst of the valley and shadow of death," have been bent on you !

Governor, I admire some politicians of my acquaintance, for their dignity, others for their sociability, and warm attachments to a friend ;—some for their popular talents, others for the correctness of their behavior ;—some for their soundness of judgment, others for their happiness of expression ;—some for their talents in laying schemes, others for their art of putting them into successful operation ;—and some for one thing, and some another. But, sir, I admire you for all these qualities, and for your honesty, independence, candor, and openness of heart, which shine in your actions, and which have won for you the esteem of all who have had the pleasure to know you personally, and of multiplied thousands who never beheld your face.

Finally, my dear sir, that your journey through life may be as sweet as it is necessarily short ; that poverty and want, may always be a year's march behind you ; that you may be happy, and highly honored of men, and your enemies know it ; that your career of honor and usefulness may be onward and upwards ; that while you travel through life, you may live well on the road ; and, that while you do live, you may live under the guidance of the five greatest and best of generals—General *Providence*, General *Peace*, General *Plenty*, General *Satisfaction*, and General *Whiggery*, is the most ardent desire of one, who in all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship, begs permission to subscribe himself,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

W. G. BROWNLOW.

TO THE READER.

IN SUBMITTING this work to the reading public, it is not done, I frankly confess, without a good degree of solicitude and anxiety. The subjects embraced in it, and the objects had in view, are of inexpressible magnitude. The subjects are *principles* dividing the two great political parties in the United States, and the present critical situation of the Union, with the causes that have led to those differences of opinion and to that situation; the objects, the restoration of sound principles—the overthrow of mad party rage and rancour—and the elevation to the Presidency, of HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, the master spirit of the age, and the only man living, as I believe, who can restore this Government to that dignity and standing it has forfeited under the control of the “Rogues and Royalists.”

I know the men and measures I have advocated, are very unpopular with my political opponents; and will subject me to the reproach of many; but the dye is cast, and the ordeal I am more than willing to encounter. From the conviction, that though I may have made “a perfect failure,” the CAUSE I have advocated, is worthy, and susceptible of defence, not to say progressive elevation, I shall desire a solace which cannot be taken away. The prospects of ultimate success, with the great Whig party, of which I have the honor to be an humble member, and the view of conferring future and lasting benefits on our country, fortify my mind against the danger of many evils, and the apprehension of the bitterness of party censure. It blunts the keen edge of sarcasm, and defeats the base purposes of malignity, to know that one serves the cause of humanity, of truth, and of his country. The epithets of scorn and party hatred, are a heavy burden to bear; as men instinctively love fame, and desire the good opinions of their countrymen; yet, there is a higher source of happiness than the applause of men, and especially those who are opposed to all we say or write. I am not indifferent to the sensibility which generally falls to the lot of mortals, and yet, I fear nothing but the *reproaches of my own conscience*. Grant me but

the approbation of that invisible monitor, and I feel as secure from all the pointed darts of Locofoco malice, as the Grecian warrior did under the shield and armor of Achilles !

Those politicians, and other individuals, of whom I was obliged to speak in this work, I have mentioned with candor as well as severity. I have treated them with much more deference, as I believe, than their *principles* and *acts*, have even warranted. To reflect on a whole party, and to assail a succession of leaders, from GEN. JACKSON down to *col. haynes*, might appear to the moderate man, or inconsiderate reader, as the height of madness and folly. And so it was said, when the celebrated Philosopher, BACON, attacked the system of Aristotle. Great names may give splendor to *falsehood*, but cannot transform it into *truth*. Beside, an *illiterate truth*, is preferable to a *learned lie*.

Finally, in the Whig cause I have now been laboring for years, and to this end I have directed my feeble efforts—with what success, I leave others to say. In this same cause I expect to continue to labor, and to this same end I hope to direct my humble efforts—with what success time will testify. I now bid the reader farewell—with this one assurance, that if I have erred in any thing, or have been mistaken or misled, or I have set down ought of malice, let it be shown ; let even an enemy point it out with fairness and candor, and,

“ I'll vex my honest soul no more
By scolding, as I've done before.
Let each our proper task attend—
Forgive the past, and try to mend.”

THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

EVERY government in the civilized world is at present tottering ; and society, like a ship in a dark tempest is torn and tossed by contending elements—the power of political leaders at the helm sinks into the weakness of infancy—the shattered fabrics of State are no longer managable, and the People, the innocent sufferers, are evidently drifting towards some unknown destination.

In Europe, the sea of political contention runs high, and the waves of oppression are roaring. The relative situation of America, and indeed of the whole world, at the present juncture, appears to the attentive observer so extraordinary—so replete with incongruities—that if the most acute and experienced Statesman were to guide his judgment of the *future* by the rule of *precedents*, he would be at a loss to find any thing bordering on analogy. Every thing forebodes a crisis and a speedy solution of the problem. The least spark—a sudden death—an ill judged law—a spontaneous popular movement—a trifle indeed may bring on a general, as well as ruinous conflagration.

Mobs, riots, rebellion and violence, have never been known in this country, to the extent which they have been witnessed within ten years past, and especially the last three years. How far this spirit of violence may be considered portentous of the final overthrow and destruction of a world of wickedness, by a justly offended God, every one of course will be left to form his own opinion. But that the introduction of *Jacksonism* in the halls of Legislation, has mainly contributed to the desperate state of things which now exists, and has for years existed, no unprejudiced man will deny. The elevation to the Presidency, of this wicked man, and vulgar Hero, was the greatest curse that ever befell this great and growing Republic. Caprice of fortune, why didst thou place such a man at the head of affairs in this nation? If any doubt the truth of this position, let the melancholly history of Gen. Jackson's most disastrous dynasty, and that of his successor whom his *Despotism* installed, array the evidence.—The destructive vicissitudes of commerce—the prostration of the mercantile class, as necessary to the body politic, as the hands and feet to the body corporeal—the ruin of the currency of the country—the inroads of faction—the tendency of modern Democratic principles—their countenance of thefts, perjuries, forgeries and counterfeiting—the long sway of the grossest and vilest demagoguism;

the fatal tendency to array the ignorant against the intelligent, the poor against the rich, the wicked against the pious, the vulgar against the decent, the worthless against the worthy, and thieves against honest men; beside the most deadly inroads upon the Constitution, all too in the name of *Democracy*! Are we not indebted for all these curses, or rather for their having been brought into life, together with all the mischiefs in existence, and all the ills which now beset us, as a Nation, to this mob Hero, ANDREW JACKSON, a selfish, corrupt, and designing man, who neither deserved the elevation which he attained, nor knew how to employ it, when attained, either to promote his country's good, or preserve his own reputation? Verily *Jacksonism* has been the scourge, as well as the disgrace of this entire country. And what else could have been expected from the elevation of a man, to the highest office within a nation's gift, whose fame rests upon no solid benefactions to mankind, whose abilities, and whose opportunities, have alike been misdirected, and perverted to advance the fleeting interests of PARTIES, and of INDIVIDUALS, and his OWN, instead of the general good?

In Tennessee,—our own beloved Tennessee, within the last eighteen months, mobs and revolutionary spirit, have taken the place of the constituted authorities of the State. In the Legislature, a large portion of one of the political parties, and all at once, during the sitting of that body, and in the name of *Democracy*, left their seats abruptly, leaving less than enough to form a quorum for doing business, and without the power in those who remained, either to proceed in business or to adjourn—before they would go into an election of United States Senators, because, forsooth, their party were in a minority, and not able to elect men of their own choice!

In Rhode Island, the mob spirit of Democracy, and the insurrection of out-laws has been more general, more formal and more formidable, and according to present appearances, is not yet over—a murmuring undertone is heard from various quarters, portending a renewal of hostilities in some new shape, as soon as an opportunity shall offer. These out-laws, were the Democrats of that State, and were not only backed by the Locofoco Governors of adjoining States, but likewise openly advocated by grave Senators in Congress, of the same political School!

In New York, a Locofoco Legislature, took the School Funds of the State from the Protestant Churches, and gave them to the Roman Catholics, because their Jesuits, known by the more imposing titles of Bishops and Priests, openly advocated the election of Mr. Van Buren, and absolutely compelled their loafing thousands who had enlisted in the service of papal Rome, to vote for Democratic candidates generally. In that State, too, to the disgrace of her constituted authorities, Catholic

emigrants were naturalized by thousands, on the day of the late State elections, that they might vote the Democratic ticket. Not only so, but more than all, and worse than all, *convicts*, by scores, were taken from the State prison, and warmed and fed, while they voted for Democratic candidates!

In Arkansas, a State which has always been Locofoco, during the past year, through its Democratic head, Gov. Yell, issued a message to the Legislature, advising a speedy winding up of the Banks,—a recognition of the validity of a portion of the State Bonds, and a *repudiating of the rest*—on the ground that the State treasury was not in a condition to pay the interest on them, and would not be for some time to come!

In South Carolina, under the reign of Jacksonian Democracy, a few years ago, the civil authorities, as well as the Churches, were all enveloped in the smoke of political faction. Men who had taken an oath to support the Laws and Constitution of the United States, *nullified* those laws—took up arms against their own countrymen—assumed a hostile attitude towards the General Government—and as a band of disorganizers, distinguished themselves from all peaceable subjects, by wearing cockades on their hats, made of blue ribbon! And yet, strange to relate, the great leader of these violators of law and order, JOHN C. CALHOUN, for twelve months past, has been urged upon the country, by a portion of the misnamed Democratic party, as a suitable man to elect to the Presidency in 1844!

In Mississippi, mobs have taken the place of the constituted authorities in many instances, and murders, in the name and under the cloak of Democracy, have been numerous and frequent. Sometimes one neighborhood or party has met, and then the strongest party has murdered the weakest, and burned, plundered, or carried off their property unmolested, under a pretence of collecting their debts. And to these disgraceful crimes, the constituted authorities of the State, have added the foul stain of *repudiating* the debts contracted by the sales of State Bonds, upon the proceeds of which they have been living and legislating for years. All this too is Democracy!

In Baltimore, our readers will recollect, that the Democratic Roman Catholic mob, raged with such violence, in the palmy days of Jacksonism, that the civil authorities could not quell its rage, and the Priests were called upon to restore order. But before this could be done, some fine buildings were torn to the ground, and many useful lives were lost.—But this too, was all done in the name of Democracy, and it was tolerated upon the principle that the *end* sanctified the *means*!

In Philadelphia, the general riot, which not long since occurred, and which was a foul blot on that great city, was likewise the work of the

Democratic Irish Catholics. And strange as it may seem, this shameful conduct was spoken of in terms of approbation, by some few Locofoco Journals!

In Cincinnati, more recently, the same kind of *Republican* violence was manifested, though directed against a different object, and in each of these cities, these outbreaks are only repetitions of former ones, perpetrated by the under-strappers of this misnamed democratic party, and in the true spirit of *Jacksonism*!

In Congress, at the very seat of our Government, and among the law-makers themselves, for the last ten or twelve years, the aspect of affairs, has been but little, if any more amicable. Threats of violence, of repealing existing laws, challenges to mortal combat, and resolutions of censure, of impeachment—Presidential *vetoes*, plundering the Public Treasury, and personal abuse, have been the order of the day; while the perpetrators of these crimes, have been censured or praised, according to the ascendancy or decline of their respective parties. How long will this state of things last? Who are justly chargeable with their existence?—Whose principles lead to and encourage such a state of things? Are they indicative of National prosperity? Or are they forerunners of political destruction? The proper answers to the anxious interrogatories, will be found in the following pages.

The object of the following pages is to show the *Democracy of Numbers*, who constitute the bulk of the busy, bustling, business-teaming world, that a *blind devotion to men*, who conceal their treason and villainy, under the revered ancient symbols of Liberty and Democracy, that they are warring against the interests of their country, by aiding their *designing and treacherous* LEADERS, who are under the evil instigation of human passion and human crime, in the overthrow of this Republic. The more effectually to accomplish our object, we will unmask the occult cabalic arts by which political systems, good and bad, are continually revolutionized, and the malign incentives, nurtured and kept in countenance by the triple alliance of Democracy, Nullification and Abolitionism. In other words, we will endeavor to tell men where they are, and what they are; whether they are democrats, or republicans, or democratic-republicans, or federalists, or nullifiers, or conservatives, or whigs; whether they go for a bank, or for the banks, against a bank, or against the banks, for hard money or against hard money; for a tariff, or against a tariff; and whether they ought to abuse Mr. Clay, or Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Calhoun, or Gen. Cass, Dick Johnson, or some body else!

A paramount object in the publication of this work, is to set forth in an epitomized form, so as to be accessible by all, the poor as well as the rich, the life, services and character of HENRY CLAY—a distinguished

American Statesman, whose talents, genius, patriotism and public services, we are happy to state, the public mind is now able to estimate the value of—to *fully appreciate*. MR. CLAY will be, and indeed now is, the Whig candidate for the Presidency in 1844. His *principles* are well understood, and by a very large majority of the American people, they are decidedly approved. The ground, then, on which he will be assailed with most violence, by his political enemies, will be the stale and malicious charge of "*bargain and intrigue*," in the election of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, to the Presidency, in 1828. To refute this charge, and to satisfy every unprejudiced mind, of its utter want of foundation in truth, will be a leading object in the publication of the following pages.

IN CONCLUSION—The foregoing summary of what is intended in this work, is far from being even a *brief sketch* of the crimes, tendencies, and party prepossessions—not to say intolerant spirit of that notorious band of political robbers, known as the '*Democratic Party*.' The reader, however, from what has been said, will be enabled, in some degree, to *guess* at the skinning we will give the phantom of "Jacksonian democracy."

THE AUTHOR.

Jonesborough, 1843.

CHAPTER 1.

PREDICTIONS OF EMINENT STATESMEN---STATE BANKS---WHO CHARTERED THEM---ASCENDENCY OF PARTIES IN THE SEVERAL STATE LEGISLATURES---HARD MONEY PRICES OF ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FORTY THREE---POPULATION AND PUBLIC DEBTS OF THE STATES---IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF SPECIE---FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED, &C., &C.

FOR the last ten years, or upwards, as our readers well recollect, the Locofocos have very unjustly charged the Whig party with being the *Bank party*—whereas, they (the Locos) created most of the Banks whose frauds and failures have, of late, produced such general distress and suffering. We might refer to the speeches of eminent Whig Statesmen, predicting, ten and twelve years ago, the very disasters that have now fallen upon the country, from overbanking, and trading, as with the unerring finger of prophecy, the disastrous effects of the measures of the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. We say we might refer to the speeches of many distinguished Statesmen, but we content ourselves with extracts from but a few. We begin with an extract from a speech delivered by the distinguished Orator and Statesman of Kentucky. In 1835, MR. CLAY, in the Senate of the United States, uttered the following memorable warning. Tell us ye Locofocos, was this not prophecy, and has not the prediction been fulfilled to the very letter?

“There being no longer any sentinel at the head of our Banking establishments to warn them by its information and operations of approaching danger, *the local institutions*, already multiplied to an alarming extent, and almost daily multiplying in seasons of prosperity, will make *free and unrestrained emissions*! All the channels of circulation will be gorged! Property will rise *extravagantly high*, and constantly looking up—the temptation will be irresistible! Inordinate speculation will ensue, *debts will be freely contracted*, and when the season of adversity comes, *as come it must*, the Banks *acting without concert*, and without guide, obeying the law of self preservation, will all, *at the same time, call in their issues*; the vast number will exaggerate the alarm, and GENERAL DISTRESS, WIDE-SPREAD RUIN, AND AN EXPLOSION OF THE GENERAL BANKING SYSTEM, or, the establishment of a new Bank of the United States, will be the ultimate effects.”

We add one more extract, and that is from a speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, by JUDGE PORTER, the present able Whig Senator from Louisiana, on Tuesday, the 22nd of March, 1836. This

speech was in opposition to the motion made by Mr. BENTON, to expunge from the Journal of the Senate, the Resolution of the 24th of March, 1834, disapproving of the Removal of the Deposites by President JACKSON. In the midst of the delusions of the reign of *Jacksonism*, in 1836, it will be seen, that this sagacious Statesman, from the proud eminence on which he stood, looked at the full extent of the evils which were to befall this country in 1842-'3. He drew from the past, and the then present, salutary lessons for the future, which we are now realizing the truth of. Only look at what he predicted would accompany and follow the destruction of a United States Bank! Will not his prediction be found complete? He says:—

"In 1830, our circulation was *sixty-one millions of dollars*. In January, 1835, or rather in June 1834, it was *one hundred and three millions of dollars*. In 1836 it cannot be less than *one hundred and twenty millions*. An increase of *sixty millions of dollars* in six years! I give the facts from the official returns made by the Secretary of the Treasury. They come, sir, it is true, no lower down than 1834. But if we take the average increase for two or three years before that time, and reflect on the enormous rise of property since (a sure indication of an unhealthy circulation,) we must be satisfied that there has been more than seventeen millions added to the circulation within the last sixteen months, and that one hundred and twenty millions is below rather than above the real estimate.

You see, sir, therefore, at a glance, the causes of the present state of things; and who cannot also, sir, see at a glance how it is to end?—If the evil could be checked now, and the reduction be slow and gradual, we might escape the consequences which time has inevitably in store for us under another policy. But, sir, far from expecting this, I look to an increase of the disease. It appears to me inevitable. A universal madness has taken possession of the public mind. Within the last four months I have heard of augmentations of banking capital, proposed or passed, to the amount of fifty millions of dollars, and more I am told are projecting; so that we may expect to see this system continuing until it breaks and falls from its own weight and magnitude. In the present state of things, the States are all interested to increase the circulation of their own banks, and prevent that of their neighbors. Indeed, we already see symptoms of a war of legislation (the result of jealousy,) by which they are attempting to restrain the notes of banks in other States from passing within their limits.

This deplorable state of things must yet get worse; and well might the Senator from Missouri depict it in the colors he did a few days ago. He could not overcharge *this picture*—a picture, sir, rendered more painful to contemplate, by the recollection of our condition before the war was waged on the Bank of the United States. For sixteen years it regulated the currency of the country with a wisdom and success of which there is no parallel. We threw it away, and we see what we have got in its place. Sir, all the projects of regulating and checking the excess of bank emissions by law, refusing to receive at your Trea-

surely their notes of a less sum than \$20, will have no more effect than would have a bucket full of earth thrown into the Mississippi river to stop its current. And as to pushing gold and silver into circulation when you have five hundred and fifty banks interested in gathering it all up, and supplying its place with their notes, that is equally impracticable; a cheap and a dear currency never can exist together; the former always destroys the latter. Having no power by the Constitution to interfere directly with the State Legislation in this matter, I see that the country is destined to go through the same scenes of agitation and suffering which it did previous to the ruin of the late Bank of the United States. After the evils have come to a height when they can no longer be endured, we shall have another National Bank, and not until then. But I submit if it would not have been as well to have prevented this state of things two years ago? I enquire, what good has been, or can be attained, by putting the People through this fearful trial? FIVE OR SIX YEARS HENCE *will be the time to get an answer to these questions.*"

The HON. MR. BINNEY, of the House of Representatives, in the Congressional debates which occurred in 1834, only nine years ago, and in reply to JAMES K. POLK of Tennessee, uttered the following memorable prediction, which, though disregarded then, has since been fulfilled to a letter:

"If the Secretary's plan was carried into effect there would be *a hundred banks starting up to take the place of the proscribed United States Bank.* They would have them shooting out their paper missiles in all directions. They would come from the four quarters of the Union."

Again: MR. McDUFFIE, of the House of Representatives, at page 27 of his able Report, made on the 13th of April, and thirteen years ago says:

"If the Bank of the United States were destroyed, and the local institutions left without its restraining influence, *the currency would almost certainly relapse into a state of unsoundness.* The very pressure which the present Bank, in winding up of its concerns, would make upon the local institutions, would compel them *either to curtail their discounts when most needed or to suspend specie payments.* It is not difficult to predict which of these alternatives they would adopt under the circumstances in which they would be placed. The imperious wants of a suffering community would call for discounts in language which could not be disregarded. THE PUBLIC NECESSITIES WOULD DEMAND AND PUBLIC OPINION WOULD SANCTION THE SUSPENSION OR AT LEAST AN EVASION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS."

Now, we ask the candid reader, if this prediction has not also been fulfilled, and with an *exactness*, only surpassed by the fulfillment of prophecy in Holy Writ? Has not the currency relapsed into a state of unsoundness, since the Jackson dynasty prostrated the United States Bank? Did not the State Banks curtail their discounts when they were most needed? Did they not suspend specie payments again and

again? Have not the Locofocos proved to be false prophets in predicting that gold and silver would supply the place of Bank issues? And have they not proved to be false prophets in saying that we could get along without a United States Bank, and that the State Banks would supply its place?

This same Mr. McDUFFIE, is now a Locofoco Senator in Congress from South Carolina, and is Mr. CALHOUN's lieutenant and right hand man. In a speech in the Senate, the past winter to his great credit, as a consistent man, he made the following important admission which we beseech our Locofoco friends to read and reflect upon. He said,

"President Jackson had certainly committed a very great error in removing the deposits, and in selecting certain State Banks as the depositories of the public money's with injunctions almost amounting to a law, to furnish those accommodations which the United States Bank had been in the habit of doing. Under that system every one was aware of what took place. *All that had been predicted by the most sagacious, actually occurred, and the currency of the country was expanded to a degree that had no parallel in the tide of time.* Such was the wild delirium in every possible species of speculation, that penniless adventurers entered into it to the tune of hundreds of thousands, on the paper furnished them by the Banks; *and as was the inevitable consequence, a general suspension followed.*"

Now, when the Whigs have charged the Bank suspensions, and all that train of evils which have resulted therefrom, to the weakness, mismanagement, and culpable remissness of the federal administration during GEN. JACKSON's Presidency, the charge has been repelled by Locofoco orators and newspapers, as a foul and atrocious calumny. But here the allegation is boldly set forth by a Locofoco Senator in Congress, who thirteen years ago predicted just such results, and who now heads the Locofoco party, as a truth about which there can be no controversy—as, indeed, there is not a shadow of doubt.

We cannot conclude this branch of our subject, without adding still other extracts. The following is from a published Address of the HON. JAMES BUCHANAN, at present a Locofoco Senator in Congress, from Pennsylvania, and one of a half dozen Locofoco aspirants for the Presidency. This Address was delivered so long ago as 1815, and shows that the old federal orator, who then boasted of not having a drop of democratic blood in his veins, was not the ardent friend of the late War, nor yet the opposer of a National Bank :

"Time will not allow me to enumerate all the other wild and wicked projects of the democratic administration. Suffice it to say, that after they had deprived us of the means of defence, by destroying our navy and disbanding our army; after they had taken away from us the

power of recreating them, by ruining commerce, the great source of our national and individual wealth; after they had, *by refusing the Bank of the United States a continuation of her charter*, embarrassed the financial concerns of the Government, and withdrawn the only universal paper medium of the country from circulation; after the people had become unaccustomed to, and, of course, unwilling to bear taxation; and without money in the Treasury, they rashly plunged us into a war with a nation more able to do us injury than any other in the world. *What was the dreadful necessity for this desperate measure."*

We next select MR. EWING, of Ohio, and MR. CLAYTON, of Delaware, not as more clearly predicting than those already named, what was to follow the destruction of the United States Bank, but as more condensed. Mr. Ewing was then a Senator in Congress, (1834) and has since been President Harrison's Secretary of the Treasury. He said, on the floor of the Senate:

"But this is not all. *You say the morals at the same time you thus rudely shake the prosperity of the people. Their first resort will be to legislative aid, and RELIEF LAWS follow, or, in other words, laws to prevent the collection of debts. (for what Legislature can withstand the appeals of a whole people suffering under a general visitation?) or, if not that, the creation of a host of banks with fictitious capital, which may seem for a time to suspend the blow, but will make it fall the heavier at last. And then, instead of the safe and sound currency which we now enjoy, we shall again have a depreciated and worthless mass of trash, which will pass into the hands of the people, and there sink into nothing, leaving them to bear the loss."*

MR. CLAYTON, then as now, an able Senator in Congress, held language prophetic and impressive. He said:

"The farmer must again sell his grain to the country merchant for *State bank paper at a discount of from ten to twenty or thirty per cent., in the nearest commercial city,*" &c. "The loss of confidence among men, *the total derangement of that admirable system of exchanges which is now acknowledged to be better than exists in any other country on the Globe, overtrading and speculation on false capital in every part that rapid fluctuation in the standard of value for money, which, like the unseen pestilence, withers all the efforts of industry, while the sufferer is in utter ignorance of the cause of his destruction; bankruptcies and ruin, at the anticipation of which the heart sickens, must follow in the long train of evils which are assuredly before us."*

Thus the reader will see what was Whig Prophecy nine and a dozen years ago, is History now. And never did the "facts of real life" more triumphantly demonstrate the sagacity of any set of men, than do the existing evils of the country demonstrate the sagacity of these eminent Statesmen. Inspiration from on high, could scarcely have more luminously foretold the miserable future, than did the sagacity of these States-

men foresee and predict the ruinous tendency of Gen. Jackson's war upon a National Bank.

LOCOFOCO PROPHECY vs. WHIG PROPHECY.—We now propose, by way of contrast, to show what contemporaneously was Locofoco Prophecy! Listen to its great expounder *The Washington Globe*, which, for so many years has commanded the confidence of the entire Jackson Van Buren Benton Locofoco party, and which is still the acknowledged organ of that party:

"While every part of America rejoices—while every heart not enslaved to the scrub-aristocracy of the paper system—while every independent and patriotic citizen exults in the recovery and restoration of the long-lost gold-currency—the West, and all Western citizens, have the deepest and greatest cause for proud exultation and manly rejoicing at this propitious event. For, of all America, the West is the part which needed most, and will profit most, from the circulation of gold. Happily, they have but few banks in the West, and therefore need gold to carry about and to travel upon. Happily, again the greatest supply of gold will go to the West. The emigrants removing to that great region will all carry gold in preference to either silver or paper, for it is lighter than silver and safer than paper. The land offices will become receptacles and reservoirs of gold: whence it will be distributed to the country through the Government disbursements, through the military, the surveying, and the Indian departments; and wo to the officer, who having received gold from the Government, shall presume or dare to offer paper to the soldiers or citizens. *Then a great stream of gold will flow up the Mississippi from New Orleans, and diffuse itself all over the great West.* Nearly all gold coinage of the New World will come to the United States; for, all the coinage of the new Governments of Mexico and South America, being the coinage of rebel provinces, cannot go to old Spain, or to any of her dependencies, and, therefore, will come to the United States as its natural and best market. This will fill the West with *Doublecons* and *half joes*; and, in eight or nine months from this time, every substantial citizen will have a long silken purse, of fine open net work, through the interstices of which the yellow gold will shine and glitter. Then travellers will be free from the pestilence of ragged, filthy, and counterfeit notes. Every substantial man, and every substantial man's wife and daughter, will travel upon gold. The satellites of the bank alone, to show their servile subjection to their leigue monarch, will repine at the loss of paper."—*Globe of July 16, 1834.*

In 1834, the American People were not prepared to judge who were true and who false Prophets, as men having equal claims to great sagacity differed so materially, but they are prepared to judge now!—We recollect that a learned Pagan Philosopher (Porphyry) contended that the Prophecies of Daniel, in the Old Testament, *after their fulfilment*, were forgeries, because they had been so literally and exactly fulfilled! And if those of us living, had not lived ten and twelve years ago, and

did not personally know that Messrs. Clay, Porter, McDuffie, Binney, Ewing, Clayton, and many others—including even *the Editor of the Globe*, thus prophesied, we too might stigmatise their predictions as narratives of past events, not prophecies of what was to come—so literally and completely has time fulfilled those of the former, and stamped with the brand of falsehood the latter.

But the “Doubleloons and Half Joes” have never arrived; though the ruin of the currency, the desolation of commerce, the prostration of home industry, and the demand for Relief Laws *have*! We have not yet heard of any “stream of gold,” great or small, flowing up the Mississippi; but we daily hear of wide-spread ruin and bankruptcy—of a Nation once “prosperous and happy,” but now “wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked!” We but the other day, as it were, enquired of a clever Democrat on our pavements, why this gold had not ascended the Mississippi, according to promise? His reply was, that it was a heavy metal, and that the *tide* had never been high enough! No, the tide has never been great enough yet, and never will be for the “fine, open, net work silk purses, through the interstices of which the yellow gold will shine and glitter.”

Even the Richmond Enquirer, the second best great organ of Loco-focoism, and the uncompromising champion of Jackson Van Buren misrule, furnishes the strongest possible evidence of the truth of Mr. Ewing’s prophecy, and the falsehood of the *Globe*’s prediction. The Enquirer of December, 1842, says in reference to some proposed measure of Relief, in the Virginia Legislature:

“Why should the Assembly be disputing about a junto, when ruin and devastation are pervading our whole country? A negro man sold in the county of Amelia, the day before yesterday, aged about forty, at the price of \$80—a good cart and young yoke of oxen at the sum of \$7—and, on yesterday, a young man at the sum of \$186—and the same man’s crop of tobacco, as it hung, at the pitiful sum of thirty-five cents per hundred. The sheriff of that county has upwards of a hundred negroes encamped under bush huts waiting the day for sacrifice. Whom should your Assembly aid, if it be not the weak and helpless portion of the constituent body, with crying wives and children? The last barrel of corn, bed, and plough-horse gone for almost nothing, making the rich richer, and the poor poorer, when a little time, under the blessing of Providence, would bring in another crop.”

Without intending to weary the reader’s patience, by multiplying extracts, we will content ourselves with referring to the following tables of FACTS, drawn from official documents, and which will place the responsibility of creating the State institutions, with the right party:

“A statement showing the ascendancy of party, from 1830 to 1836, in the several State Legislatures, Territories, &c.

	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Maine	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson
N. Hampshire	do	do	do	do	do	do
Vermont	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.
Massachusetts	do	do	do	do	do	do
R. Island	Jackson	do	do	do	do	Jackson
Connecticut	Anti J.	Jackson	Jackson	do	do	do
New York	Jackson	do	do	Jackson	Jackson	do
Pennsylvania	do	do	do	do	do	do
New Jersey	do	do	do	Anti J.	do	do
Delaware	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	do	do	do
Maryland	Jackson	do	do	do	do	Anti J.
D. of Columbia	do	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	do	Jackson
Virginia	do	do	do	do	do	do
N. Carolina	do	do	do	do	do	do
S. Carolina	do	do	Calhoun	Calhoun	Calhoun	Calhoun
Georgia	do	do	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson
Florida	do	do	do	do	do	do
Alabama	do	do	do	do	do	do
Louisiana	do	do	do	do	do	do
Mississippi	do	do	do	do	do	do
Tennessee	do	do	do	do	do	do
Kentucky	do	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.	Anti J.
Missouri	do	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson	Jackson
Illinois	do	do	do	do	do	do
Indiana	do	Anti J.	Anti J.	do	Anti J.	Anti J.
Ohio	do	Jackson	do	do	Jackson	do
Michigan	do	do	Jackson	do	do	Jackson

Of the foregoing Legislatures, 16 were Jackson and Van Buren

4

Calhoun,

40

Anti Jackson or Whig.

Total, 162

¶ We have above shown, that all who desire to continue on the right side of *genuine* Locofoco Democracy, should continue the advocates of State Banks—an increase of their numbers in every State, and of their *depreciated* issues. For if there is any dependence to be placed upon historical records, official documents, and contemporaneous recollections, the Jackson Van Buren party in the United States, are alone responsible for an over-banking by the State institutions, and for the ruined currency of the land. The extension of *Bank Issues*, set forth in these tables, is the work of what is erroneously, called *Democracy*; and when public sentiment comes to be fully expressed on this subject, its verdict will be against that party.

Of the 348 banks chartered from January 1st, 1830 to January 1st, 1837 the following number with capital annexed, were chartered by the Locofoco party.

States and Territories	Jackson Legislatures.		Whig Legislatures.	
	No of Banks	Capital authorised.	No of Banks	Capital authorised.
Maine	41	\$3,480 000		
New Hampshire	5	871,638		
Rhode Island	9	1,500 000	9	2,482,584
Connecticut	9	1,100,495	9	
New York	61	17,229,107		
Pennsylvania	17	44,048,149		
New Jersey	8	5,458 000		13,339 005
Maryland	3	4,584 900	12	
Virginia		1,140 909		
Georgia	5	4 006,838		
Florida	8	9,725 000		
Louisiana	11	47,334,009		
Mississippi	10	20,450 000		
Alabama	1	13,815,406		
Tennessee	2	4,863 000		
Illinois	2	2,800,000		
Michigan	16	7,400 000		
Ohio	12	6,245,614	9	5,200,000
Arkansas	2	3,500 900		
South Carolina	3	4,332,408		
Vermont	—	—	9	1,767,375
Massachusetts	—	—	71	20,410 000
Kentucky	—	—	4	9 264 640
Indiana	—	—	1	1,980 000

224 205,650,615 124 62,478,285

RECAPITULATION.

No of Banks increased by Locofoco Legislatures	224	
Capital increased by ditto		\$205,650,615
No of Banks increased by Whig Legislatures	124	
Capital increased by ditto		62,478,825
Total increase,	348	\$268,128,900

Now, we are aware how very sore the Loco Foco leaders are, at an exhibition of the hypocrisy of their out-cry against Banks and paper money—but “the hour is coming, and now is,” when their shallow device of raising the cry of *Democracy*, as an appology for their errors, crimes—aye, thefts and villainies, will be as well understood by the

People, whom they have so long and shamefully deceived, as their assumed antipathy to Banks and paper money.

One very remarkable fact will be seen on looking over the foregoing table—and that is, that those States in which the banking capital was increased by Whig Legislatures, with the exception of Indiana, contain the soundest Banks in the Union, and have suffered the least by the failure of those institutions, and the fraudulent conduct of their managers. On the other hand, in the States where Banks were multiplied through the weakness, mismanagement, and culpable depravity of Locofoco Legislatures, the currency is of the very worst description, Bank frauds and failures, the most numerous and startling, and the trade, commerce, and general business of the country depressed beyond any similar example in our history as a nation, or in the history of the States.—We refer particularly to Pennsylvania, where Locofocoism is responsible for FORTY-FOUR MILLIONS INCREASE OF BANK CAPITAL—to Alabama, over-run with shin-plasters, change-tickets, and paper money depreciated FORTY PER CENT, below its par value—to Mississippi, the model State of Locofocoism—where the “Hard Money Party,” created TWENTY MILLIONS of Bank capital in *seven years*—a State now, and forever hereafter dishonored by the foul and infamous blot of REPUDIATION, which stains her assumed Democratic escutcheon!

These, reader, are *samples* only, of the gold and silver currency, promised the country, for the last twelve years, by the Jackson Van Buren Democratic Republican Buck-tail party, who are such haters of Banks! What Democracy! And what a currency! Verily the Locofocos are a hard money people! Their money is hard every way—hard to get, and hard to get rid of!—It is hard for an East Tennessee farmer, at least, to have to boat his Flour, Iron, Bacon, and other produce, and articles of trade to Alabama—and when he gets them there, to have to take the depreciated paper of that State, and of Georgia—selling at half price, and then being shaved FORTY PER CENT on his return, in the payment of debts contracted years ago, with a belief that the country would be flooded with gold and silver, as promised by the Jackson and Van Buren administrations! This kind of “Hard Money,” has been furnished in abundance, by the Locofocos, in Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and several other States, “of like precious faith;” and if the Locofocos should succeed in electing their candidate to the Presidency, in 1844, we shall have a still more general out-pouring of this *hard currency*, of glorious memory!

For once, at least, the Locofocos have been equal to their promises.

They have given the country a *hard* currency. May fortune, with the same blessed prefix (*hard*) to her name, for this "labor of love," attend them through life, collectively and individually! But, before we dismiss this subject altogether, we design to show, that the American people are reaping the harvest sown of a hard money currency. The fruits of the miserable "experiment" of '32-'33 are yet upon us.—The good people of Missouri, for instance, as will appear from the National Intelligencer, are now enjoying a few of the comforts and luxuries of a hard money Government, of which their illustrious Senator, Mr. BENTON, is the champion. In Missouri, as also in France, there is but *one* Bank, with a very restricted currency, and in both, as also in most parts of the United States, the people are about as well off as they are in Naples, or Sicily or Turkey, pure hard money Governments, where there is no credit. And with nothing but hard money, hard money prices must continue. See a sample of them:

In January, 1843, at a constable's sale in Pike county, Missouri, (says the *Hanibal Journal*) the following named articles were sold at the prices annexed:

3 good horses each	-	\$1 50	1 large ox	-	\$00 12½
5 cows, 2 small steers, 1 calf		25	20 sheep, each	-	13½
1 Dining table	-	50	24 hogs, lot		75
1 eight day clock	-	2 50	1 lot of tobacco 7 or 8 cwt		5 00
3 stacks of hay, each	-	25	1 stack of fodder	-	25

"Truly," adds that paper, "we are begining to feel the benefits which flowed from the destruction of the old United States bank; the consequent influx of worthless paper, and the ultimate return to purely specie currency. The rich may well rejoice at a policy that more than trebles their wealth—but as for the poor, God help them!"

The times have not yet arrived to such an extremity as this in Tennessee, but they will reach it before the close of 1843. The existence of the Bankrupt Law, has kept men from tyrannizing over their fellow-men, but since the repeal of that law, they will cut loose upon the debtor portion without any mixture of mercy. Mark what we say. And when that countless multitude of suits for debts, which are now being instituted, are ripened into judgment and execution, as they will be ere the close of this year, we shall then see all these articles selling under the hammer for such prices as the foregoing—prices that will *practically* illustrate the beauties of modern Democracy!

In this connexion, moreover, we deem it important to exhibit a table of the *Population and Public Debt of the States*, drawn from official documents, and setting forth the indebtedness of the States, for

banking capital, internal improvements and other objects, and also the rate to each person under the census of 1840:

States.	Population.	Public debt.	Rate.
Pennsylvania,	1,724,033	\$33,016,149	\$19
Louisiana,	352,411	19,735,000	56
New York,	2,428,921	17,054,976	7
Maryland,	470,019	15,000,000	32
Ohio,	1,519,467	12,019,850	8
Illinois,	476,183	11,772,550	25
Indiana,	685,866	10,064,000	15
Alabama,	590,756	9,834,005	16
Mississippi,	375,651	7,000,000	18
South Carolina,	594,398	5,753,770	9
Michigan,	212,267	5,340,000	25
Massachusetts,	737,699	5,000,000	6
Virginia,	1,239,797	4,129,700	3
Florida Territory,	54,477	3,950,000	72
Kentucky,	779,828	3,765,000	4
Arkansas,	97,574	3,100,000	32
Georgia,	691,392	3,000,000	5
Tennessee,	829,210	2,600,000	3
Missouri,	383,702	2,500,000	6
Maine,	501,793	554,976	1
		<hr/>	
		\$175,189,976	

City Debts separate.

New York,	\$12,000,000	
Boston,	1,698,232	
Philadelphia,	1,000,000	
Albany,	388,175	
		<hr/>
		15,086,319
		<hr/>
		\$190,276,395

The States of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and North Carolina, appear to have no bonds in circulation. The amount set down to Mississippi in this table, is less by \$5,000,000 than that commonly reported against her. Exclusive of the \$5,000,000 bonds sold the late United States Bank, and which have been "repudiated" to European holders, the State is said to own but \$2,000,000, and that for stock in the Planters' Bank at Natches.

Once more: there is about as much hard money in the country now as there is bank paper, and there is not the one tenth part of either imperiously demanded by the wants of the country. Gold and silver, however, is as plenty as it ever will be in a country where gold or silver alone is to constitute the currency. The Jackson Van Buren party have now been trying for years to make about \$80,000,000 of specie represent all the property, all the labor, and all the energy and capacity of SEVENTEEN MILLIONS of people. Dividing these eighty millions of

dollars among these seventeen millions of people, it gives us a fraction less than five dollars to a person, to represent all we have, or all we earn, or all we expect to have and earn! See the following statement, taken from official documents, for particulars, as to the imports and exports of specie :

On the 17th ult., (January 1843) the President of the Senate laid before that body a communication from the Treasury Department, in compliance with a resolution of the 5th instant, calling for the exports and imports of gold and silver coin and bullion since 30th June, 1832.

This document states, in separate columns the gold coin and bullion and silver coin and bullion :

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1834	8,190,272	519,575
1835	13,131,447	6,477,775
1836	13,400,881	4,324,346
1837	10,516,414	5,970,249
1838	17,784,116	4,508,046
1839	5,574,263	8,776,443
1840	8,882,813	8,417,014
1841	4,988,633	40,034,231
1842	3,848,290	4,056,694

Note.—The collectors are not able to designate, in many instances, the foreign from the American coinage.

We next proceed to show the state of things to which Locofoco misrule in several of the States of this Union, has brought their inhabitants, within the past year. We will give brief *samples* only, by the introduction of *six* members of the Confederacy, by name, whose affairs have fallen into the hands of Locofoco Legislatures. They are, however, fair illustrations of the tendency of all those wild and visionary schemes, which have for their object the breaking down of all protection to our own Industry, our Currency, Credit and Commerce!

ILLINOIS.—The Legislature of this State has passed what it erroneously styles, a RELIEF LAW. The Illinois Register represents the act as providing that all property under execution shall be appraised by three persons, and on being thereafter offered for sale, if it fail to bring *three fourths* of its appraised value, no sale shall take place. The law is to continue in force for *three long years!*

In this section, we would all be willing to give up all we have to pay our debts, if our creditors would take our property at *three fourths* of its appraised value. What shifts the enemies of a National Bank, Land Distribution and a Protective Tariff are driven to! Better support proper men and measures in the National Legislature.

OHIO.—The "Blackguard Legislature of Ohio," as it is termed by

the Cadiz Republican, has also passed a RELIEF LAW, providing that property taken under execution, shall not be disposed of at public sale for less than *two thirds* of its appraised value. This law continues in operation in the Buckeye State, till the first of March 1845.

INDIANA.—In this State, too, the Locofocos have passed a RELIEF LAW, which provides that property taken under execution shall not be sold for less than *two thirds* of its appraised value. This character of the bill we gather from the Bloomington Post.

MISSOURI.—The Legislature of this State, says a St. Louis paper, has passed a similar RELIEF LAW, differing only in form, as it does not require property to be valued. The law further directs that the Court of Common Pleas, shall hereafter hold but two terms in each year, instead of monthly, as has been the custom. What has reduced Missouri to the necessity of enacting *Relief Laws*? She is the ‘Ban-ner State’ of Locofocoism—never was *cursed with Bank issues*—having but one Bank within her borders and that an institution, founded upon the real Jackson Van Buren Bentonian Humbug principle of a *specie basis*!

NORTH CAROLINA.—The Locofoco General Assembly of this State according to the Raleigh Register, has adjourned, after the longest and most unprofitable session ever held in the State. No RELIEF MEASURE was passed though much talked of by the *only friends* of the dear People! The session was consumed in a disgusting electioneering strife between *Bedford Brown* and *R. M. Saunders*, for the Senatorship. These, too, are the folks who hate office! O what a picture of Democracy!

ALABAMA.—This State is Locofoco to the core, and has been from the commencement of the Jackson mania, to the present day. Are matters and things in a better condition there than elsewhere? No, verily, but distress is the order of the day. We have heretofore published that the four Banks at Mobile, Decatur, Montgomery and Huntsville, had been driven into liquidation by the Legislature. Since that they have completed the work of ruin. The principal Bank, and only remaining institution of the kind, has met with the fate of the Branches.

Such are a few of the “sayings and doings” in the several States alluded to. The State Bank System, so much admired by the enemies of a National Bank has worked badly. And as to these *Relief Laws*, they are, in fact, laws to prevent the collection of debts. The condition on which alone property can be sold, are that it must bring, under the hammer, *two thirds*, or *three fourths* of its appraised value. But who that has money, would buy property at such rates? Rather, who would give *half* its value?

In publishing these enactments of RELIEF LAWS, the occasion is appropriate for a reference to Whig predictions, uttered years ago, when that wretched system of measures was begun, which has brought all the present calamities upon the country. Will the reader then do himself the justice, and the writer the favor, to turn back to the prediction of Senator Ewing?

CHAPTER II.

THE GREAT ISSUE—BANK OR NO BANK—THE BANK OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY—THE BANK OF SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE—THE BANK OF EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN—WHO FOR A BANK AND WHO AGAINST IT—ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY—GEN JACKSON AND PAPER MONEY—HIS LATE LETTER—HIS PLAN OF EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY FOUR—A CONTRADICTION, &C.

DISGUISE it as politicians may, for party purposes, the Bank question is not only the most important one which divides the two great parties in Tennessee, and in the Union, but it is now the real issue, and upon it will the contest for the next Presidency turn. In Tennessee, it is almost the only question of difference between the parties. True, there is a difference of opinion as to the *kind* of Tariff demanded by the interests of the country; but the great matter in dispute is, shall we have a Bank of the United States or not? The real people of both parties—the bone and sinew of the land—now believe that a National Bank is indispensable, and they are, daily, and without any sort of disguise, thus expressing themselves, and much to the annoyance of certain Locofoco demagogues. The reason of this is, the people now, more than at any former period, feel the effects of Locofoco experiments upon the currency—the want of a National Bank—and the destruction of the late Bank of the United States. Interested partizans and office seeking demagogues can no longer make the people believe that the State Banks will supply the place of a National Institution, or that the destruction of the latter will result in filling the country with gold and silver. They can no longer induce the people to believe that WASHINGTON and MADISON, who both signed charters of National Banks were not patriots, and that they acted in violation of their oaths to support the constitution. They can no longer induce the honest people to believe that those pure patriots, many of whom were members of the convention that framed the Constitution, and who voted for the Bank bill of 1791, were *Federalists*, under the influence of British gold, and enemies to the country.

The American people thought they could do without a National Bank, and accordingly they tried it from 1811, to 1816, a period of five years. During those five years, the State institutions discounted paper

to a vast amount, just as they have done since the destruction of the late Bank, by Gen. Jackson. Their issues then became depreciated, as they have since 1832, the period at which the iron nerve of despotism put down the late United States Bank, and substituted in its stead, the State institutions. Then, as more recently, there was not a sufficient number of State institutions in existence to supply the vacuum that had been created; but of late years, *Democratic* legislation was appealed to, in order, as Gen. Jackson said, to sustain him in his position, and the appeal was not in vain. In 1816, the depreciation became so great, the value of it continually changing, the door was opened for shavers, and the people were ground to death, just as they have been under the reign of Jacksonism. President Madison, and the *real* Democracy of the country saw these great evils arising, as Mr. Clay and the Whig party now see them,—and all for the want of a regulator, such as a National Bank, and then it was that they chartered the Bank of 1816. It will be admitted by every one, that prior to the destruction of the late Bank, our currency was a good one, our different departments of business were prosperous, and our people all happy. And we hesitate not to proclaim it, and we conscientiously believe the declaration, that the Locofoco Jackson Van Buren party of these United States, have, by their unrighteous war upon the currency, brought upon the country all the calamities that have followed in its train. And we are equally sincere when we say, that we believe, the honest portion of the country, will visit with merited indignation, in 1844, the vile authors of that system that has brought distrust and disgrace upon the separate and confederate republics of this Union.

A National Bank, in addition to its advantages as a regulator of the currency, has proved to be the safest and most expeditious fiscal agent the General Government ever had any thing to do with. In this capacity, the late Bank received and paid out a fraction under FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, without the Government having lost *one cent*. The Bank never charged the Government a dollar for receiving and paying out all this amount of money. Nor did the Bank ever receive any other compensation than the use of the money while it was in its possession. It moreover met every engagement, and honored every draft drawn upon it, by the Government, at any and every point of the compass. Did the Sub-Treasury plan of the Locofoco dynasty work thus? No.—But by it, millions of dollars were lost to the Government. Witness the defalcations of Swartwout, Price, Boyd, and a host of other theiving individual agents, who plunder the treasury. Not only did these Sub-Treasury agents steal the monies of the Government, and flee to “parts unknown,” but they were even paid big

salaries for doing so! Who, then, with all these lights before him, would not prefer a National Bank to a Sub-Treasury swindling shop? The former is a "*Monster*," we are told, while the latter is an "*Independent*" concern. Yes, it is *independent*, but independent of the *People*, in as much as it is exclusively under the control of the Executive!

The Pet Bank project, all parties know, though the darling of Gen. Jackson and his party, proved both a signal and splendid failure, and such an one, that it were cruelty to even here allude to, were it not that it is absolutely necessary, in giving a brief sketch of the currency question. We, however, only mention it now, that the people may see where they have been led, and the road they have been forced to travel. When we were travelling the old way of a National Bank, the way "in which our fathers trod," in the days of Washington and Madison, and "the road that leads from *banishment*," we were prosperous, but our Locofoco rulers thought there was still a better way, *the hard money way*, which would at once lead to wealth and independence. Many, very many well disposed persons, who were shamefully imposed upon in this matter, were disposed with the immortal Pope to pray,—

"If I am *right*, O teach my heart,
Still in the right to stay!"

But since leaving the high and beaten track of prosperity in which they had traveled, and entering into this by-path of Jacksonian Democracy, they are now prepared to add,—

"If I am *wrong*, thy grace impart,
To find THE BETTER WAY!"

As a people, however, we had not gone far in this new road, before it was very apparent, that we were getting into difficulties—the path soon give out, and not a single *blaze* or *savage trace* could be seen to tell us where we were, or where we were going to land. In this worse than Egyptian darkness, we *camped* in the woods for a time. Every State was then left to make its way out as it could, and as time has shown some of the States could only *feel* their way out, and that too, over the rocks of "*repudiation*!" Other States unwilling to "come up out of the wilderness" in this way, are still groping in the morasses and quagmires into which they have been led, by designing men, or unprincipled party leaders. What, then, is the proper course for us to pursue? Shall we return to the old plan, where all acknowledge we prospered? But what course does *wisdom* dictate? Shall we not, as men guided by reason, sacrifice our party predilections upon the altar of our country's good, and return to that system that will promote our prosperity, and happiness? Yes, let us do as Madison and the true

Democracy of his day did, when they were convinced of the necessity of a Bank—let us come out for a National Bank, and *vote for those only who are for a Bank*. Elect a Bank President, a Bank Congress, and Bank Legislatures, who will receive *branches* into the several States—then, and not till then shall we experience relief from low prices for labor and produce, and from the curse of an ever-varying and depreciated currency. How else can we obtain relief? Certainly not by new experiments; they have been tried in vain, and tried to the ruin of thousands. The bitter harvest which the country is now reaping, is the result of seed sown by Gen. Jackson, and cultivated by his “follower in the footsteps.” These men and their partizan admirers scattered dragoon’s teeth upon a teeming soil, and they have sprung up armed men to devour our substance! And yet, the people are called upon to reinstate in power the vile authors of these dire calamities—called on, by the very men, among others, who admit that to their wild and reckless mal-administrations are we indebted for the palsy that has crept over us, and enfeebled our energies!

To those persons who are acquainted with the currency question, it may not be improper to refer to the past, and though we may not convince the reckless partizan, we trust there are many who are guided in their decisions upon political controversies by TRUTH, and will act by the lights it never fails to impart. The great body of the common people—the mass of the voters of the country have no other motive to govern them, than an honest, sincere desire to see the Government administered by wisdom and justice; and though they may be influenced by certain LEADERS for a time, and even have their predilections for individuals, their obligations to their country, are paramount to every other consideration. And that the people will do right, when rightly informed, is almost *axiomatic*, and as an illustration of the fact, we need only recur to the Presidential campaign of 1840. Our political opponents, the Jackson Van Buren Benton Buck-tail Locofoco party, unexampled in all their history of political warfare, they threw off their garb of *secretly and silently misrepresenting*, and for the first time met us in public discussion; the result we need not pause to say, was conclusive and overwhelming. Having the recollections of the past to console us, and these facts to sustain us, as Whigs, we enter on the approaching Presidential contest, with every encouragement we could desire; and we approach the question of the currency, the true issue between the parties, without any fear that, when understood, the Whig party will stand acquitted before every honest man, of ever having advocated any other measures, than those destined to build up and establish a sound and uniform currency.

THE BANK OF 1780.—We take the following highly important and to us, interesting facts relative to the first move in the United States, on the subject of a National Bank, from the Journals of Congress, in 1780, and commend them to the notice of our readers:—

IN CONGRESS, JUNE 21, 1780.

“A letter of this day from the Board of War, was read, informing that a number of *patriotic* persons, having formed a plan for the establishment of a bank, whose object is the public service; that the directors have applied to that board, to represent to Congress the desire of the company, that a committee of this body may be appointed to confer with the inspectors and directors on the subject, to-morrow morning;’ whereupon,

Ordered, That a committee of three be appointed, for the purpose mentioned. The members chosen, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Scott.

The committee appointed to confer with the inspectors and directors of the proposed bank, brought in a report, which was read.

The committee also laid before Congress, the plan of the bank communicated to them at the said conference which being read, Congress thereupon come to the following resolutions:

Whereas a number of the *patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania* have communicated to Congress a liberal offer, on their own credit, and by their own exertions, to supply and transport three millions of rations and three hundred hogsheads of rum, for the use of the army, and have established a bank, for the sole purpose of attaining and transporting the said supplies with the greatest facility and dispatch; and whereas, on the one hand, the associators, animated to this laudable exertion by a desire to relieve the public necessities, mean not to derive from it the least pecuniary advantage; so on the other, it is just and reasonable, that they should be fully reimbursed and indemnified; Therefore,

Resolved, unanimously. That Congress entertain a high sense of the liberal offer of the said associators to raise and transport the before mentioned supplies for the army and do except the same as a distinguished proof of their patriotism.

Resolved, That the faith of the United States be, and the same is hereby pledged to the subscribers to the said bank, for their effectual reimbursement in the premises, &c, &c.

It does not appear from the journals of Congress whether the proposition had any connexion with the plan afterwards submitted by Robert Morris and adopted by Congress, in May 1781:

On the report of a committee consisting of Messrs. Witherspoon, Sullivan, Smith and Clymer, to whom was referred a letter from Mr. R. Morris with the plan of a bank.

Resolved, That Congress do approve of the plan for establishing a NATIONAL BANK in these United States, submitted to their considera-

tion by R. Morris on the 17 May, 1781, and that they will promote and support the same by such ways and means, from time to time, as may appear necessary for the institution, and consistent with the public good.

That the subscriber to the said Bank shall be incorporated agreeably to the principles and terms of the plan, under the name of the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of North America." &c &c.

We have now, a few remarks to make on this subject, and a few interrogatories to put to our Locofoco-Bank-opposing neighbors, before we proceed further. This was the Old Congress—the *Continental Congress*, at which the assembled wisdom and patriotism of the several States, first created a NATIONAL BANK—a Congress which had been held from September, 1774, to 1789, at which date the Federal Government was organized—a period of fifteen years. The Continental Congress, was composed of Delegates from the several States and they were appointed by the Legislatures thereof.

Now, the Congress of '80 and '81, at which the representatives of the States, chosen by their respective Legislatures, determined that a NATIONAL BANK was indispensable, in order to the welfare and growing prosperity of the country, was *nine* years before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, or the organization, proper, of this Government. Of course the *Constitutional* question was not raised, as the Constitution was not then in existence. But as nearly all the members of the Congress of '80, and '81, were in the Convention of 1789, at which the Constitution, was prepared and adopted, it is not reasonable to suppose, that they would sanction an instrument excluding forever, the adoption of a measure, the indispensable necessity of which they were convinced of.

But, were the members of the Continental Congress, and afterwards the signers of the Declaration of Independence, *Democrats?* were they *Whigs?* Were they *Federalists?* We may not be able to answer these questions; but we shall be safe in saying they were PATRIOTS. Who will dare deny this? Who will say that they were *enemies* to their country?

THE BANK OF 1791.—The first Session, of the first Congress, under the Federal Constitution, was held in the city of New York and continued in session six months. At this early period PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, consulted his Secretary of the Treasury, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, and others, upon the subject of a NATIONAL BANK, but nothing was done.

There was a *third* Session of the first Congress which was held in the city of Philadelphia and which terminated the 3d of March 1791.

At this Session a National Bank was chartered, the particulars relative to which will be found in the subjoined extract from Bradford's History, of the Federal Government, now before us, and a most excellent work. We quote from page 36:—

“One of the most Important Acts of Congress at this third session, which was necessarily terminated the third of March, 1791, was that for establishing a Bank of the United States: This was important, in a practical view, to give efficiency to the fiscal concerns both of the Federal government and to individual enterprise, especially in commercial pursuits; and also as to a great *constitutional* question,—the right of the general government to form and incorporate such an institution. The reasons given for the incorporation of the Bank were, “that it would be conducive to the successful conducting of the national finances, tend to afford facilities to the obtaining of loans, for the benefit of government in sudden emergencies, and be productive of great advantages to the trade and industry of the country.” The preamble further states, “that the bank should be on a foundation sufficiently extensive to answer the purposes, intended by it; and at the same time, on principles which might afford *adequate security for an upright and prudent administration thereof.*” Notwithstanding the great objections then, and since, at various times, made to a Bank of the United States, it would seem to be highly expedient; alike useful to the government and to individual enterprise, as asserted, and as generally believed; still it was important, that its administration and management should be in all *prudence and uprightness*; and not for the benefit of a few; nor more than all, for electioneering, and party purposes. It is in the abuse and perversion of such an institution, that it can be an evil either to government or to the people.

This act of incorporation for a Bank of the United States, was for the period of twenty years; and the capital was to be ten millions of dollars. There were to be twenty five shares, of four hundred dollars a share. Three fourths of the amount of shares subscribed for, were payable in evidences of the public debt; which had been loaned agreeably to a previous Act of Congress. The President of the United States was authorized to subscribe two millions of the capital stock on behalf of the general government. The Bank was to be located in Philadelphia; but branch banks were provided for in other parts of the United States, as the directors should think proper, for the purpose of discounting and deposits.”

To show how private credit stood and what new life was given to every branch of industry, by the creation of a NATIONAL BANK we subjoin an extract from a letter written by Gen Washington, to Mr. Morris of New York, just after the former had returned from Philadelphia, from performing an extensive tour through the Southern States. We quote from the best authority, Marshall's life of Washington. page 310, vol. fifth:—

“In my late tour through the southern states” said he in a letter of the 28th of July, to Mr. Gouverneur Morris, “I experienced great

satisfaction in seeing the good effects of the general government in that part of the Union. The people at large have felt the security which it gives, and the equal justice which it administers to them. The farmer the merchant, and the mechanic, have seen their interests attended to and from thence they unite in placing a confidence in their representatives, as well as in those whose hands the execution of the laws is placed. Industry has there taken the place of idleness, and economy of dissipation. Two or three years of good crops, and ready market for the produce of their lands, have put every one in good humor; and, in some instances, they even impute to the government what is due only to the goodness of Providence.

The establishment of public credit is an immense point gained in our national concerns. This I believe exceeds the expectation of the most sanguine among us:—and a late instance, unparalleled in this country, has been given of the confidence reposed in our measures, by the rapidity with which the subscriptions to the *Bank of the United States* were filled. In two hours after the books were opened by the commissioners, the whole number of shares was taken up, and four thousand more applied for than were allowed by the institution. This circumstance was not only pleasing as it related to the confidence in government but also as it exhibited an unexpected proof of the resources of our citizens."

THE BANK OF 1816 —MR. ALEXANDER J. DALLAS, President Madison's Secretary of the Treasury, with the sanction of the President himself, and of every member of his Cabinet recommended the incorporation of a National Bank in 1816—a *Democratic* administration recommended it as a *Democratic* measure, to a *Democratic* Congress, and it was carried by an overwhelming majority of the *Democratic* members of both houses.

The Anti-Bank party in this quarter, say, that no man can be a *Democrat* unless he stands opposed to a Bank of the United States.—Let us look at this declaration for a moment. The late "Monster," which General Jackson put down, was chartered by a *Democratic* Congress, during the administration of that *stallion old Democrat*, James Madison, and in opposition to the votes and wishes of the *Federalists*. The following is a true analysis of the political complexion of the votes on the bill to charter the Bank of the United States, in 1816.

		Yeas.	Nays.
House of Representatives,	Democrats	68	29
"	"		
	Federalists	13	20
In Senate,	Democrats	18	5
"	Federalists	4	7

Thus it will be seen, that more than *two thirds* of the *Democrats* in both branches of Congress voted for the "Monster," and almost *two thirds* of the *Federalists* voted against it!

In his message to Congress, in 1815 when the war had closed, and the country was laboring under the local and currency of that period, Mr. Madison thus spoke :

1. " It is essential to every modification of the finances, that the benefits of a uniform National currency should be restored to the community: 'The absence of the precious metals, will it is believed, be a temporary evil *but until they can again be rendered the general medium of exchange it devolves on the wisdom of Congress to provide a substitute which shall equally engage the confidence and accommodate wants of the citizens throughout the Union.* If the operation of the State Banks cannot produce this result, the probable operation of a National Bank will merit consideration, &c.

At the first Session after Congress incorporated the Bank of the U. States, President Madison delivered a Message to both houses of the National Legislature, in which he held this language, relative to the Bank.

2. " For the interests of the community at large, as well as for the purposes of the Treasury, it is essential, that the Nation should possess a currency of equal value, credit and use wherever it may circulate.—The Constitution has entrusted Congress, exclusively with the power of creating and regulating a currency of that description, and the measures taken during the last session, in executing the power, give every promise of success. 'The Bank of the United States has been organized under auspices the most favorable, and cannot fail to be an important auxiliary to these measures."

We shall here add another extract from President Madison's message to Congress, of 1816. Speaking of the creation of the Bank—of the restoration of confidence, by a uniform circulating medium, he says :

3. " Upon this general view of the subject it is obvious that there is only wanting to the fiscal prosperity of the government, the restoration of a uniform medium of exchange. The resources and faith of the nation displayed in the system which Congress has established, insure respect and confidence at home and abroad. The local accumulations of the revenue have already enabled the treasury to meet the public engagements in the local currency of most of the states, and it is expected, that the same cause will produce the same effect throughout the Union. *But for the interests of the community at large as well as for purposes of the treasury* it is essential that the nation should possess a currency of equal value, and use wherever it may circulate."

We must be permitted to continue this subject, by the introduction of an extract from the pen of President MONROE, being a portion of a letter he addressed to S. E. Burrows, Esq., in 1831, in which he takes a decided stand in favor of a National Bank. He discusses in this letter the whole subject of the currency—the condition of the finances—the State Bank system, &c.,—but we shall only quote that portion of the letter which bears on the point we are now considering :

"A National Bank occupies different ground, connected with the government by its charter, and its capital, which consists in stock, in which the government participate in a certain degree, there is no instance in which, in principle, there can be a difference of interest between them and many powerful considerations by which the interests of the bank must stimulate it to support the credit of the government in any situation in which it may be placed. If the credit of the Gov. sink the capital of the bank would decline in equal degree, the effect of which would be felt in all its operations. Its paper would depreciate, and a check be given to its circulation, if not an entire suspension.— Standing at the head of the monied operations of the government, it is its intermediate agent in making remittances to the banks and individuals throughout the Union, and likewise, between individuals, from which much credit and influence are gained, if not past. It has the means, and may be considered as the most powerful agent in raising and sustaining the circulating medium in a par with specie throughout the Union, and elevating the state banks to that standard, by subjecting them to the necessity of reaching and adhering to it, to sustain their credit, and even their existence. Let the credit of the government sink and all these advantages are lost. The bank therefore from a regard to interest is bound to sustain it. The directors except the few appointed by the government, are elected by the stockholders and are amenable to them. It gives support, therefore to the government in principles of national policy, in the support of which it is interested, and would disdain becoming an instrument for any other purpose."

Even in the Veto Message itself, General Jackson holds this language:

"That a Bank of the United States competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our delegated powers and reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed."

GEN. HARRISON, in his letter to SHERROD WILLIAMS, under date of May, 1836, says;

"Under these impressions, I agreed with Gen. Jackson in the opinion expressed in one of his messages to Congress, from which I make the following extract: '*That a Bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt.*' But the period for re-chartering the old institution has passed, as Pennsylvania has wisely taken care to appropriate to herself the benefits of its large capital.

"The question, then, for me to answer, is whether, under the circumstances you state, if elected to the office of President, I would sign an act to charter another bank. I answer, I would, if it were *clearly ascertained* that the public interest in relation to the collection and disbursement of the revenue would materially suffer without one, and there were unequivocal manifestations of public opinion in its favor."

Here, then, is what GEN. HARRISON said he would do, in 1836, on

certain specified conditions. He was afterwards elected to the Presidency, *by the whole country*, who desired a Bank, as he well knew; and in his Inaugural Address, which we had the pleasure to hear him deliver, he held the following language, which cannot be misunderstood, and which shows most conclusively, that he would have signed a Bank Charter, the opinions of a few Locofocos to the contrary notwithstanding:

“Connected with this subject is the character of the currency. The idea of making it *exclusively metallic*, however well intended, appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme having no relation to the personal rights of the citizen, that has ever been devised. If any single scheme could produce the effect of arresting, at once, that mutation or condition by which thousands of our most indigent fellow-citizens, by their industry and enterprise, are raised to the possession of wealth, *that is the one*. If there is one measure better calculated than another to produce that state of things so much deprecated by all true republicans, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and the poor sink deeper into penury, *it is an exclusive metallic currency*. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase and necessary toleration of usury, *it is an exclusive metallic currency*.”

THE BANK OF PENNSYLVANIA.—It is known to our readers, that after the overthrow of the United States Bank, the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, chartered the *State Institution*, which they thought proper to call “*The United States Bank of Pennsylvania*,” and at the head of which NICHOLAS BIDDLE, the former President of the National Bank was placed. This Institution was neither in whole or in part, a *National Bank* but a *State Bank*, as every man of sense knows, and as every candid man will at once admit. And yet, it is notorious, that since that Institution failed, its stockholders became sufferers, and its paper was shaved to the tune of *forty per cent*, the whole tribe of Locofoco sycophants and demagogues, throughout the country, have cried out, “*there is the end of a National Bank for you!*” Not only so, but they quote what President Biddle said in its favor, as evidence of *his* trying to mislead public sentiment. Now we charge that even *that* institution, was notoriously of Locofoco incubation. The Globe, the official Gazette, of President JACKSON, and certain democratic Senators, encouraged Pennsylvania, and all other States, to charter State Banks. In connexion with the debts and expenditures of Pennsylvania, the Globe of December, 1832, said:

“Why should not she establish a *Bank of large capital in which she should be interested as the Principal Stockholder*; such a Bank, especially if the faith of the State were pledged for the redemption of its paper, would command universal confidence, and would doubtless become the depository of the public funds accumulated in Philadelphia.”

Did ever Biddle say more in praise of that miserable *counterfeit* of a National Bank, *after* its creation than the Globe has here said in urging its establishment? This passage, when read aloud, must come home to the democracy. But hear what the late JUDGE GRUNDY said in a debate in the Senate:

"I am *not* an advocate of an exclusive metallic currency. This I believe to be *im practicable*. I am in favor of a *mixed currency*, composed of coin and convertible bank paper."

In this same debate, Mr. BUCHANAN held forth after this fashion:

"Let there be a *general circulation of half specie and half paper*, and the danger of suspensions of specie payments will be comparatively at an end."

"There were twenty-six States of this Union who had all, from their origin, exercised the power of *creating Banks*. This power had been in uninterrupted operation for half a century. It was now *too late to question its existence*. NO MAN NOW LIVING WOULD EVER SEE THE DAY when this power would be *abandoned by the States!*"

Such, then, *used* to be the positions of the leading politicians and presses of the Locofoco school. And wherever that party have been in the ascendant, in any of the States, these doctrines have been fully carried out—carried out in the excessive creation of State Banks, giving the people "*a mixed currency*," or a currency "*of half specie and half paper!*" And when an honest Democrat is now told that a *paper currency* is a "humbug," he may safely reply, then, it is a *democratic humbug*.

THE BRANCHING POWER.—Mr. Jefferson, who was the great bell-wether of Democrats, as the present race of Locos say, was favorable to a National Bank, and to destroy the influence which this fact is likely to have—our modern democrats contend that he was opposed to the *branching power*, contended for by Mr. Clay and the Whigs, at the extra Session of Congress. This proves not to have been the fact. The National Intelligencer, has brought to light an act of Congress, passed in 1804, for *extending branches* of the United States Bank, into the newly acquired Territories of the United States, which Mr. Jefferson approved, and which, as is clear to be seen, may be taken as evidence most conclusive, that he recognized the *branching power*, now contended for by Mr. Clay, to its fullest extent. The following is the act referred to, and which the Intelligencer says, is taken from a Compilation of the Laws of the United States:—

"AN ACT supplementary to the act entitled "an act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States."

§ 1. *Be it enacted, &c.* That the President and Directors of the Bank of the United States shall be, and they are hereby *authorized to*

establish offices of discount and deposit in any part of the territories or dependencies of the United States, in the manner, and on the terms, prescribed by the act to which this is a supplement."

APPROVED, MARCH 23, 1804.

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

FURTHER PARTICULARS.—Many honest men in the country of the so-called Democratic party have long been taught to believe that every department of the Government had regarded a National Bank as unconstitutional—a *Federal* measure, and never supported by the *Republican* party—when, in truth, the reverse of all these allegations are facts. These facts, when demonstrated, will prove astounding to the People, but they are nevertheless true. We have already given the political complexion of the parties voting for and against the Bank of 1816. We will next exhibit an analytic table, showing how the States were divided upon the subject of the Bank of 1791, the bill for the charter of which was signed by GEN. WASHINGTON, on the 26th of February of that year, being the month in which it passed the House of Representatives, by a vote of ayes, 39, noes 19. The following is the table:

	<i>For it.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>
Massachusetts,	7	1
New York,	6	0
New Jersey,	4	0
Rhode Island,	1	0
Pennsylvania,	7	0
New Hampshire,	3	0
Connecticut,	5	0
North Carolina,	2	3
South Carolina,	1	2
Delaware,	1	0
Maryland,	2	3
Georgia,	3	3
Virginia	0	7

In the year 1832, a bill passed the Senate for continuing the charter of the Bank of 1816, for 20 years, by a vote of yeas 28, nays 20. It passed the House by a vote of yeas 107, nays 85. This bill fell under the qualified veto of President Jackson. And to this act, and this alone, are all our distresses and sufferings attributable. This veto destroyed the best currency this country ever enjoyed; and from that day to this, as every candid man must admit, we have been going down hill as a nation. Where we are to land, time only can tell. Without a

Bank, similar in all material respects to the one destroyed by Gen. Jackson, the country is to be *ruined*.

The States in the Senate and House of Representatives were thus divided in their votes :

	SENATE.		HOUSE.	
	<i>For it.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>	<i>For it.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>
Vermont,	2	0	2	0
Maryland,	2	0	5	3
New Hampshire,	1	1	0	6
Massachusetts,	2	0	11	0
Rhode Island,	2	0	2	0
Connecticut,	2	0	6	0
New York,	0	2	11	17
New Jersey,	1	1	6	0
Pennsylvania,	2	0	24	1
Louisiana,	2	0	3	0
Delaware,	2	0	1	0
Virginia,	0	2	7	11
North Carolina	0	2	4	8
South Carolina,	0	2	2	7
Georgia,	0	2	6	4
Kentucky,	1	1	6	4
Tennessee,	0	2	2	7
Ohio,	2	0	10	3
Indiana,	2	0	1	2
Mississippi,	1	1	1	1
Illinois,	1	1	0	0
Alabama,	0	2	0	0
Maine.	2	0	1	6
Missouri,	1	1	0	0

In the year 1841, two bills passed each branch of Congress, establishing a National Bank, and both fell under the qualified veto of President Tyler. Had not the corrupt traitor, to his shame and disgrace, vetoed these bills, a National Bank would have been in successful operation, say, for eighteen months past, or two years, and universal national and individual prosperity, would have been the result. Had these bills been signed by this unprincipled miscreant, instead of low prices, low wages, and no money, and general distress—the farmer and mechanic, and day laborer, would now be receiving a fair compensation for the products of their industry,—the country would abound with money of equal value at every point—and joy and gladness would light up every countenance! But Tyler, backed and encouraged by Locofocoism, vetoed these bills, and Locofocos, as well as Whigs through mercy, are enjoying the fruits of his and their conduct.

The analysis of the vote on each bill shows the sense of the States on the question. On the first bill—

	SENATE.		HOUSE.	
	<i>For it.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>	<i>For it.</i>	<i>Against it.</i>
Vermont,	2	0	4	0
New Hampshire,	0	2	0	4
Connecticut,	1	1	5	0
Rhode Island,	2	0	2	0
Massachusetts,	2	0	10	2
New York,	1	1	17	20
New Jersey,	2	0	6	0
Pennsylvania,	0	2	12	13
Delaware,	1	0	1	0
Maryland,	2	0	1	0
Virginia,	0	2	5	14
North Carolina,	2	0	7	5
South Carolina,	1	1	1	7
Georgia,	1	0	8	1
Kentucky,	5	0	7	3
Tennessee,	0	1	8	4
Ohio,	0	2	12	7
Louisiana,	1	4	2	0
Indiana,	2	0	5	1
Mississippi,	1	1	0	0
Illinois,	0	2	0	0
Alabama,	0	2	0	5
Maine,	1	1	4	4
Missouri,	0	2	0	2
Arkansas,	0	0	0	1
Michigan,	2	0	1	0

It is unnecessary to add a further analysis, or we would do so, as we have the materials at hand. We have already given the sense of different Congresses, expressed by different votes, scattered through a period of SIXTY YEARS, affirming the constitutionality of a National Bank, while not one Congress, nor either house of Congress, ever did deny it officially. We have likewise the written opinions of the purest patriots, and the most talented men who ever lived on this continent, scattered through the same period of time, affirming both the *constitutionality* and *expediency* of a National Bank—while demagogues and designing men alone, of this degenerate age, have made the discovery that such an institution is both unconstitutional and uncalled for. Several bills proposing the establishment of a Bank, have been introduced and lost in Congress, it is true, but not on the score of constitutional objections on the part of that body, as the journals and debates demonstrate. Senator SMITH, of Maryland, in debate on the veto of President JACKSON, in 1832, speaking of his vote then said, “he

had voted against the Bank in 1811, but *not at all on constitutional grounds*; and he had no doubt such was the case with other members of the Senate." MR. MADISON says, in reference to this very vote—a thing harped upon by the Locofoco opposers of a Bank:

"As to the negative of the Senate, by the casting vote of the presiding officer, it is a fact well understood at the time, that it resulted not from an equality of opinions in that assembly on the power of Congress to establish a bank, but from a junction of those who admitted the power, but disapproved the plan, with those who denied the power. On a simple question of constitutionality, there was a decided majority in favor of it."

IN CONCLUSION—we have only to add, that the foregoing statements, questions, and extracts—all and singular—must pester the Locofocos a little; or if they do not disturb their peace and quiet, they must at least force them to the conclusion, that, "*old documents are dangerous things.*"

But we wish to impress upon the minds of our readers, these facts: The first Bank was created by those pure and unadulterated sages of the Continental Congress, in 1780, SIXTY-THREE YEARS AGO, when none of those motives now complained of, by the opponents of a Bank, could have operated upon their minds, so as to have influenced their conduct, in opposing or advocating the institution. The second was created by those venerable sages of the Revolution, under GEORGE WASHINGTON—whose love of country, and patriotism, no man will doubt. The third was established by the *Democratic* party, after the perils of the second war of Independence, by men who had the courage to sacrifice the false pride of consistency, party strife and party prejudice, on the altar of patriotism. During forty-three out of fifty years, in which a National Bank existed, public and private credit stood without a parallel in the world. During the two intervals, when no Bank existed, the moneyed transactions of private life were at a stand—nay, they were even on the *downward* march, and the fiscal operations of the Government, labored with extreme inconvenience, doing little else than an *uphill business*.

GENERAL JACKSON IN 1842 *vs.* GENERAL JACKSON IN 1834.—Gen. Jackson, as the following letter will show, has again taken the field, as the champion of a hard money currency, and the *officious intermeddler* in the contest now waging for the Presidency. Among the numerous letters of a similar character, caused to be published by this miserable old man, from time to time, the following is the most extraordinary, if not the most disgraceful to the writer:

HERMITAGE, November 24th, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 18th instant has just been

received, in which you ask permission to publish my letter, or extracts from it, to which you refer. I have no copy of that letter, and when written had no idea of its being published. and as I wrote it in haste, there may be errors both in grammar and spelling, which may need correction; still as you say it may be useful for information to the public, having the greatest confidence in your judgment, the permission you ask is freely given to you. I never put to paper any thing but what are my matured opinions.

"As to the allusions made to my message to Congress, had I strength I would give you the full outlines of that project, if Congress had made the call on me. But why the call was not made upon me, Congress was well aware of my opinion of the constitutional powers of Congress in their legislation for the District, and of the States, with regard to chartering banks. I will give you a concise and hasty view of that opinion. That the power of Congress over their respective limits: and that neither had the constitutional power to charter banks of paper issues—that the only power in this respect was to charter banks based on a specie basis, and of deposite and exchange. The States having resigned to the General Government the Sovereign power to coin money regulate the value thereof, &c., &c., and prohibited themselves from issuing bills of credit, or to make any thing a tender in payment of debts but gold and silver coin; hence the reserved rights of the States contained no power to charter banks with power to issue bills of credit. I ask, what is a bank bill but a bill of credit? The charter allows them three dollars in paper for one in specie: three five dollar bills are issued: I go to the bank with one of them; I draw out five dollars in specie. I ask what the other two represents. They answer, nothing but the credit. These were well known by Congress to be my opinions; therefore my project was not called for. Many committees representing banks called upon me whilst in the Executive chair, to know if I would approve a charter upon other terms than based upon a specie basis. My answer always was, that I would approve no other charter; therefore none was presented to me.

"I am and ever have been, opposed to all kind of Government paper currency, let it be derived from Exchequer, or otherwise. If the paper is the real representative of specie, why not pay the debts in specie and let the specie circulate in the hands of the laboring and producing classes? Then the dealing between the merchant, and the laborer will be in specie; and the merchant, by making a deposite, can get a bill on any part of the Union. Where, then, is the use of a paper currency? Neither the merchant or the laborer wants it. The merchant wants a *bill*, not a bank or exchequer bill, but upon a banker where he lays in his goods, as in Germany.

"It is one of the greatest humbugs ever attempted to be imposed upon a people that there is not specie enough in the world to answer all the necessary wants of the community. Look at Cuba. There is no paper there. Shut out from circulation all paper, and specie will flow in upon us as the tide, but never will flow to any country that has a paper currency, which will always depreciate. A national paper currency is a great curse to any people, and a particular curse to the

labor of the country ; for its depreciation always falls upon the labor. But with these hints I must close ; being exhausted. I am greatly debilitated, and remain your friend,

ANDREW JACKSON."

"Moses Dawson, Esq."

REMARKS.—The friends and flatterers of this weak and ambitious old man, have made a tool of him till they have effected his political death, and now, that he is no more ; they are disposed to use him still ! It is now with the old man, as a French traveller once said of Leonidas, at Sparta. When he (Chateaubriand) visited the spot where old Sparta stood, he saw no living soul, in the enthusiasm of his feelings, he ascended an eminence, in the midst of what was once Sparta, and at the top of his voice, thrice shouted aloud the name of Leonidas ! The traveller adds,—“Not an echo returned my voice, and Sparta herself seemed to have forgotten the name of her Hero !” The reader will make the application.

The very face of the letter shows that its author is not now sufficiently sound of mind for party purposes, to be dragged before the public.—In the first breath, as it were, the writer says, he wrote his former letter in haste—with no idea of its being published, and that it contained errors in grammar and spelling, and still, in the next breath, he says,—“*I never put to paper, any thing but what ARE my MATURED opinions !*”

A beautiful specimen this of the *political grammar* of a *deliberate* writer ! This fine English, reminds us of the time the writer marched an armed force into a neutral Territory, then in the possession of the Spaniards,. In making out his *lawless* Reports to the War Department, he wrote General thus, *Jinrole !* The man speaks of the grammatical errors of his former letter, “which may need correction.” Judging from this “matured” letter, we should think the former one a perfect curiosity. That the present letter contains several “matured” falsehoods, none can deny. The General tells us that ten years ago, he regarded the State Banks as unconstitutional, and was opposed to all bank paper ; when he was, at that very time issuing circulars to the *pet banks*, telling them to issue more of their “bills of credit !” He was, at that very day, in his message to Congress, proclaiming the success of his miserable experiments with State institutions, and boasting of their immeasurably increased banking facilities ! Is it lion headed impudence, or is the want of a recollection of what the man did say, in those days, or both, that induces him thus to disregard truth ?

But what is the “matured project of a National Bank,” alluded to in Gen. Jackson’s famous message to Congress ? Why, according to this late *learned* commentary, on that message, it was to be a NATIONAL

BANK, confined in its operations to the *District of Columbia*—a tract of country *ten miles square*, ceded to the General Government, by the States of Maryland and Virginia! He intended the country should have a NATIONAL BANK, to operate "*per se*," within the limits of a District *ten miles square*! And what is still more strange, this *National Bank* is not to issue *any paper*, but is to be a bank of *gold and silver*! Who ever heard of such a *National Bank*? Is it possible that ten years ago, in a regular message to Congress, of which the following is a part, this is what Gen. Jackson meant, when he seemed to sanction a National Bank!

"*That a Bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the Government might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been most cheerfully performed.*"

Now, for the last ten years, Gen. Jackson's opinions herein expressed, have ben publicly, on all occasions quoted, as he very well knew, and a very different construction put upon them, from the one he has given. Is it not, therefore, exceedingly strange, that this *commentary* upon his "*matured project*," under all the circumstances, should have been withheld from the world till now? Old man, this new party movement won't take. This effort to aid a sinking cause, on the eve of the revival of an old contest between the friends of a *Sub-Treasury* and a *National Bank*, will not have the desired effect.

But this oft exploded doctrine of an *exclusive gold & silver currency*, cannot any longer be put upon even Democrats. They have tried the doctrine till they are sick and tired of it. Like the Jews, in waiting for the coming of the Saviour, the Democrats have looked for the ushering in of this gold and silver era, till their eyes have grown dim with age, and till their pockets are literally *sewed up*. The gold and silver *prices* are upon us, without the *currency*.

We next present to the public, the long expected project of Gen. Jackson's constitutional National Bank, which was extensively circulated over the United States, in *Lithograph copies*, for the inspection and approval of the *hard money party*! It speaks for itself. We copy this *Jacksonian plan of a Bank*, from the 5th Vol. and 73d page of "*The Political Register*," published in Washington, in 1834. This scheme is there accompanied by a letter from LITTLETON D. TEACKLE, a leading Jackson man in Maryland, requesting its publication in the "*Columbia Telescope*," whence it was transfered to the columns of the Register. Mr. T. says, in submitting the plan—"The Chief Magistrate

of the Union has EXPRESSED HIS APPROBATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PROPOSITION, and AT HIS SUGGESTION, the accompanying details have been extended!" This statement, and this plan, side by side with the Hermitage letter, and its avowal, that the General "*ever had been opposed to all kinds of Government paper currency,*" we leave the reader to reconcile, with the request that he will "pitty the sorrows of a poor old man," whose *memory* has utterly failed him!—Here comes the plan of 1834:—

"*A plan to establish the Monetary System and to regulate the Currency of the United States, according to the following bases and principles:*

"1. Five commissioners to be appointed by the President and Senate, to act in conjunction with other commissioners to be appointed by the States, to constitute a *Board of Currency, to sit at the seat of the General Government.*

"2. The board to devise and prepare a national currency in convenient denominations from 10 to 1000 dollars, to be apportioned among the States in the ratio of their *electoral votes*, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars for each Senator and Representative in Congress.

"3. Each of the States, assenting to the system to receive its contingent of the currency upon the payment of one per centum on the amount required, and contracting to pay in like manner annually thereafter, and providing not less than one fourth of that amount in the legal coin of the United States, as a basis of its operations.

"4. The assenting States to appoint one commissioner to the board, and one in addition for every ten of its electoral votes over three, deducting the number which may have been appointed from each State by the President and Senate.

"5. The principal institution of each of the States to have the custody and provide for the transmission and disbursement of the public moneys, and for exchanges between the States under such conditions and regulations as the Congress may prescribe.

"6. The national currency to be made receivable in all payments in the U. States at each and every one of the institutions and at all their branches and departments, without regard to its place of emission or redemption.

"7. The board to have and to exercise a visitorial and supervisory control over the institutions of the States in all their branches and ramifications; each to be visited and inspected by a deputation of the board, once in every six months at the least.

"8. The assenting States to be *severally* and *distinctly* responsible for their appropriate contingents of the currency and for the faithful administration of their respective institutions.

"9. The commissioners to receive an adequate compensation for their services, and fair allowances for itinerant charges; to appoint and pay

their secretary and other necessary officers and servants ; and to take security for their good conduct, and the due discharge of their proper duties.

“ 10. The secretary to receive the per centage to be paid by the States, to make all needful disbursements under the direction of the board, and to account to Congress for any balance which might remain.

“ 11. The proceedings of the board to be open to the inspection of either House of Congress, or to any committee thereof, and the right to modify or repeal the act to be reserved, subject to the fulfilment of existing engagements.

“ 12. The board to consider all subjects connected with the currency in relation to the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, which might be charged upon it, and report thereon to Congress from time to time.”

The foregoing summary of the plan proposed by Gen. Jackson in his Message to Congress, and subsequently approved by him, is, indeed, nothing more or less than Mr. Van Buren's original abortive safety fund system, with the exception that all the States are to be stockholders, married to the Central institution—a gracious and sweet conjunction!—In other words, the following will be found to be the chief points of this plan:—

“ 1. The Federal Government is to enter into a joint stock company with the States ; supplying them with a *paper capital* ; and, in return, merely, assuming the direction and control of their monied institutions.

“ 2. A great financial Congress is to be set up, in order to do such few further rogueries, as are convenient or dangerous to be done by our present glorious convocation of sages and saints at Washington. It will be good to show the world that there is a probability of forming a body still more venal and slavish than they.

“ 3. In return for the paper capital lent them in such proportion that South Carolina would receive just 100,000 dollars, each State will merely bind itself to pay in specie all the 28 millions issued, if it be demanded at her banks.

“ 4. The financial Congress to have the power of shutting up, at their pleasure, the banks of any State ; and thus holding at its mercy the whole trade of the country.

“ The paper capital is not payable to the United States, in the first instance ; but if a State fail to pay the notes when demanded, the U. S. as joint partner and guarantee, will have the right of enforcing the payment—doubtless by a *fieri facias* against the State.

“ The pleasant part of the scheme, however, is this : That the thing shall be done by law of Congress ; which law, meantime, is to take effect upon a particular State only at its assent, so that we shall have laws of Congress completely binding, in some States, and not of the slightest obligation any where else !

CHAPTER III

PRICE OF LABOR—METALIC CURRENCY—THE VAN BUREN DOCTRINE
AVOWED BY BENTON, BUCHANAN & WALKER, LEADERS OF THE PARTY.

THE price of labor! Can any subject be more worthy the deep and impartial consideration of the great body of the American People?—Already are laborers paid too little in our country, and yet, the “free trade” doctrines of the Locofoco party, evidently leads to the *reduction of wages*. What class of American citizens could view with indifference a reduction of wages, already so low that honest hard-working mechanics and day-laborers, can scarcely keep their wives and children from want! To come directly home to our readers, what description of individuals in *Tennessee*, are prepared for such reduction? Are the mechanics? They now “work for nothing and find themselves.”—Are the farmers? They already realize *ten cents* for oats, and *three dollars* for Bacon! It would suit them, in these days of *hard money prices*, to hire the day laborer for *five cents*, nor can they well afford to give more. These surely are questions which come to the great mass of the people—the real “bone and sinew” of the land, as the Locofoco demagogues style them, when they are asking them for their votes. And it is FACTS—indisputable well authenticated FACTS, we intend presenting to the public in this chapter, and which alike concern Van Buren Democrats, and Clay Whigs. Will both parties, for a few moments, lend us their serious attention? As Mark Antony said, “lend us an ear, and we will a round unvarnished tale deliver.”

No doubt our readers generally, have heard of what was charged by the Whigs to be startling doctrines advanced in the United States Senate, in 1839, by certain champions of Van Buren misrule. But as many have doubtless forgotten the particulars, we would do well just in this connection, to bring them before the public again. And before we proceed further, as it is our determination neither to mislead a single reader, or to misrepresent any prominent Locofoco, to whom those doctrines have been attributed, we will have them to be heard in their *own words*, as published in their *own organ*, and revised by *themselves*. We shall not, then, as our enemies charge, resort to the speeches of Whig orators, the reports of Whig newspapers, or those of Whig letter-writers, for

proof of the *fact* of such doctrines having been avowed by some three or more of the great *bell-wethers* of Van Buren Democracy, but to the GREAT GLOBE newspaper, the official organ of the party in the U. States. We quote from COL. BENTON first, whose speech on the subject will be found in the *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, page 123 :

“To our Southern States, to the whole cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar growing region, now so grievously afflicted with the curses of the paper system, to all this region I would say, study the financial history of Holland, France and Cuba. FOLLOW THEIR EXAMPLE. Emulate their SOLID CURRENCY. *Imitate them.* * * *

“To the other States I would say, DO THE LIKE.”

We next quote from SENATOR WALKER, of Mississippi, from *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, page 124 :

“I am against the whole paper system. * * *

“Let us but contrast the condition of the Island of Cuba upon our very borders, with that of our own country. In Cuba, the currency is *entirely metallic.* * * *

“Being then opposed, upon these principles, to *any* paper money system, State or Federal, I shall vote to strike out the clause which would seem to countenance the future issue of Government paper.”

We next give the reader a *beautiful* extract or two from the speech of old Federal JAMES BUCHANAN, of Pennsylvanian now spoken of as a candidate for the Presidency, by the Locofoco party. These extracts will be found in the *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, pages 135-6:

“In Germany, where the currency is *purely metallic*, and the cost of every thing is REDUCED to a hard money standard, a piece of broadcloth can be manufactured for fifty dollars; the manufacture of which, in our country from the expansion of paper currency, would cost one hundred dollars. What is the consequence? The foreign French and German manufacturer imports this cloth into our country, and sells it for a hundred. Does not every person perceive that the redundancy of our currency is equal to a premium of one hundred per cent in favor of the manufacturer?”

“No tariff of protection, unless it amounted to prohibition, could counteract this advantage in favor of foreign manufactures. I would to heaven that I could arouse the attention of every manufacturer of the nation to this important subject.”

“What is the reason that, with all these advantages and with the protective duties which our laws afford to the domestic manufacturer of cotton, we cannot obtain exclusive possession of the home market, and successfully contend for the markets of the world? It is simply because we manufacture at the nominal prices of our own inflated currency, and are compelled to sell at the real prices of other nations.—
REDUCE OUR NOMINAL STANDARD OF PRICES

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, and you cover our country with blessings and benefits." * * * * *

"The comparative **LOW PRICES** of France and Germany have afforded such a stimulus to their manufactures, that they are now rapidly extending themselves, and would obtain possession, in no small degree even of the English home market, **IF IT WERE NOT FOR THEIR PROTECTING DUTIES**. While British manufactures are now languishing, those of the continent are springing into a healthy and vigorous existence."

We next give the **TOAST** drank by **GENERAL JACKSON**, at a public dinner given him at Vauxhall Garden, in the vicinity of Nashville, in 1833, which illustrates *his* views of *hard money* and the "protection," alias, *prices* of "labor:"

"*The true constitutional currency is gold and silver coin*; It can cover and protect the *labor* of our country, and regulate *wages*, without the aid of a *National Bank*, an institution which can never be otherwise than hostile to the liberties of the people, because its tendency is to associate **WEALTH** with undue power over the public interest!"

Thus it will be seen, that **HUMBUG BENTON**, the great file-leader of Locofocoism, exhorts the people of this country to follow the wretched example of Holland, France, and even *Cuba*, and to emulate their *Democratic metallic currency*!

SENATOR WALKER, of the "banver" State, of *Repudiation*, is opposed to any and all paper money, "State or Federal," and desires the people of the United States, to adopt the *solid currency* system of *Republican Cuba*!

MR. BUCHANAN, the head of the Pennsylvania wing of modern Democracy, advocates, in so many words, the reduction of all paper money prices, to the *real Cuba standard*—that is the *solid money standard*! This old "*ten cents a day*" champion of the usages of "Germany," and advocate of the "nominal" prices of foreign countries, has the audacity to tell us, in conclusion, that these prices will "cover our country with blessings and benefits!"

GEN. JACKSON, too, goes for the "hard," and the reduction of wages to the specie standard of hard money countries. Many other extracts might be given, from his Messages and letters, in proof of his advocacy of this ruinous doctrine, but the foregoing toast, (of course *sentimental*) is deemed sufficient.

Now, it certainly becomes an object of great importance to ascertain what *are* the prices of labor in these hard money countries, and how **FAST** the laboring classes live, in order that we may be able to appreciate the change proposed by modern Democracy. If the American people are disposed to "imitate" the habits of living, in European hard money countries, when they have fairly understood those habits, we say *amen* to the move. But we beg them, one and all, *before* they adopt this new mode of living, to become fully informed, as to all the facts; and to this end, we lay before them an authentic table, showing the rates of wages in various countries, touching the accuracy of which there can be no mistake. This table is compiled from documents furnished by

the several Consuls, residing in the countries named : and in March, 1840, the same table was read before the American Senate, without an item of it being doubted, even by the furious partizans, against whose creed it was intended to operate.

TABLE.

Country and District.	Description of laborers	Yearly wages	Daily wages	With or without board	With or without dwelling
<i>France—</i>		\$ \$	cts. cts.		
Calais	Ploughmen	5 to 8			
	Shepherds	13		with	with
	Laborers		15		
Boulogne	Ploughmen	7		do	without
	Laborers		10	without	do
Havre	Farm servt's generally	8 to 12		with	with
Brest	do	2 to 6		do	do
Nantes	Laborers		17	without	without
Charante	Farm servt's generally	3 to 8		with	with
Bordeaux	Laborers		24 to 30	without	without
Bayonne	do		18 to 12	do	do
Marseilles	Shepherds	19 to 12		do	do
	Laborers		9 to 14	do	do
Corsica	do		22	without	without
<i>Germany—</i>					
Dantzic	Farm serv's	3 to 4		with	with
	Laborers		9 to 14	without	do
Mecklenburg	Farm serv's	5		with	do
	Laborers		14	without	do
Holstein	Farm serv's	4 to 5		with	do
	Laborers		14	without	do
Netherlands					
S. Holland	Farm serv's	10 to 12		with	do
	Laborers		12 to 32	without	without
W. Flanders	Farm serv's	5		with	with
<i>Italy—</i>					
Trieste	Laborers		24	without	without
	do		12	with	with
Istria	do		16 to 20	without	without
	do		8 to 10	with	with
Lombardy	do		8 to 16	do	do
Genoa	Farm serv's	4 to 5		do	do
	Laborers		10 to 16	do	without
	do			without	do
Tuscany	Farm serv's	2		with	with
	Laborers		12	without	without

Fellowcitizens of the United States! Can you go this figure?— People of Tennessee! are you prepared for this state of things? Mechanics and laboring men, of all parties, are you prepared to “work for nothing and find yourselves?” *Democrats!* what say you to this glorious scheme? This is what your leaders, aye, what your *party*, propose to bring you to. Only follow them, and here is where you will land; unless you conclude to *steal*, and then you will land in the State Prison!

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN STOCKHOLDERS—GOV. POLK AND STERLING BONDS—GEN. JACKSON FOR A NATIONAL BANK IN FOUR DIFFERENT MESSAGES.

THE last great objection to a National Bank, with the Locofoco party, when their other flimsy arguments are met and exposed, is that of its necessarily being founded, at least in part, upon the monies of Foreign Stockholders, and consequently under Foreign influence, at least to some extent. The jealous eye of Locofocoism is extremely watchful of the interest of this great nation! The Whigs meet this objection, first, by showing, most conclusively, that *it is not a well founded objection*; and next, that if it is, (admitting it for the sake of argument) that the insidious use of "British Gold," or "Foreign Silver," can be barred by legal enactments. We are informed by the Nashville papers, that Ex-Gov. POLK, now canvassing this State for the office of Governor, is going his death, as the saying is, against a National Bank, and especially is he opposing Mr. Clay's Bank Bill, passed by Congress at the Extra Session, and Vetoed by Mr. Tyler. The forecast of the Ex-Governor in this, is neither consistent or prudent. He knows that Mr. Clay's Bill, as he terms it, contained an *express prohibition* against Foreign Stockholders; but he is so dishonest a politician, or so reckless a demagogue, that he will not only conceal this fact, but labor to make a different impression on the public mind.

The Whig party in Tennessee, understand the very nice distinction which the Ex-Governor would draw between Foreign influence in *State* and *National* Banks! He has left the people of Tennessee at no loss on this subject. His views are on record, in an official Message to the General Assembly of this State, in the one case, while his views as set forth in his stump harangues, of this day, are too fresh in the minds of the people to leave any doubt in the other. On this point the Nashville Whig, of recent date remarks:

"But withal we confess we cannot appreciate the distinction. Why the Bank of Tennessee, the stock of which to the extent of *a million and a half* he recommended, while Governor, to be sold to *British capitalists*, would be deemed safe under such influence, while a National Bank containing a direct prohibition against Foreign stockholders, would be wholly unsafe, surpasses our comprehension. Perhaps the Governor entertained the notion that the Bank of Tennessee would remain in

the hands of the Democracy, and as a matter of course be safe from the baleful influence of the London partners in the concern. That such might have been his opinion, seems somewhat conclusive from the fact while the Ex-Governor himself was hurled out of office, his Locofoco Board of Directors held over—and that, too, in defiance of law.”

That the reader may the more readily appreciate the hints thrown out above, we simply remark, that in the Ex-Governor's Message of 1839, he gravely recommends that ONE MILLION AND A HALF of the then unsold stock of the Bank of Tennessee, should be sent to London, by an agent, and sold to *British Capitalists*; and to render those Bonds more acceptable to that class of *Foreigners* who deal in American Stocks, he urged that the Bonds of the State be made “STERLING BONDS!” On this point again, the Nashville Whig justly remarks:

“The legislature thought fit *not* to adopt his recommendation. On the contrary, Mr. Bransford, a Whig member from Jackson county, introduced a bill to burn the million and a half of Bank Bonds unsold, which bill or a similar one, was finally passed into a law. His Excellency's intention, however, to sell about one third of the capital of the Bank to Foreigners was well understood, and his favorable opinion of the influence of the British Money Power in a purely State institution is further confirmed by the fact then within his knowledge that the London Stock Brokers already owned, (and to this day own,) a million of the capital of the Bank of Tennessee!”

Without any thing more at present, on the subject of Foreign Capital for Banking, either in a *State* or *National* institution, we call public attention to the subjoined extracts from *four* different Messages of GEN. JACKSON, touching the subject of a National Bank. He is certainly good authority with *Tennessee Democrats*. Then, too, the General accorded in opinion with the present Whig party of this State, if he does not now. Will any one dispute this? Hear him for himself:

Extract from Gen. Jackson's first Message to Congress.

“If such an Institution is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the Government, I submit to the wisdom of the Legislature whether a NATIONAL ONE, founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues, might not be devised which would avoid all constitutional difficulties, and at the same time secure all the advantages to the Government AND THE COUNTRY that are expected to result from the present Bank.”

Extract from General Jackson's second annual Message.

“In the spirit of improvement and compromise which distinguishes our country and its institutions, it becomes us to inquire, whether it be not possible to secure the advantages afforded by the present Bank, THROUGH THE AGENCY OF A BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, so modified in its principles and structure as to obviate constitutional and other objections. It is thought practicable to organ

ize such a Bank, with the necessary officers, as a branch of the Treasury department, based on the public and individual deposite, &c. &c. In times of public emergency, the capacities of such an institution might be enlarged by legislative provisions."

"Entertaining the opinion heretofore expressed in relation to the Bank of the United States *as at present organized*, I felt it my duty in my former messages frankly to disclose them in order that the attention of the Legislature and the people should be seasonably directed to that important subject. Without a more particular reference to the views of the subject then expressed, I leave it for the present to the investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives."—*Extract from General Jackson's third annual Message.*

"That a Bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been most cheerfully performed."—*Extract from General Jackson's Veto Message.*

CHAPTER V.

THE NATIONAL DEBT—WHO CREATED IT—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY ON MR. VAN BUREN'S ACCESSION TO THE PRESIDENCY—EXTRACT FROM GENERAL HAMILTON'S LETTER—AMERICAN CREDIT ABROAD—OPINIONS OF ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS, &C., &C.

MUCH labor and ingenuity have been exercised by the Locofoco party in the United States, to fasten the reproach of a national debt, in time of peace, on the Whigs, and to remove the odium from their own doors, where it justly belongs. But fortunately for the Whigs, they are sustained by the official records of the country, in hurling back upon the heads of the late faithless and improvident administration, the charge of wasting the public treasure, and thereby creating a national debt. Before the Locofoco party assail the Whigs on this ground, then, they ought to cleanse their own hands of all guilt and participation in the matter, of which they complain. This they cannot do, by an exhibition of FACTS, as we shall proceed to show.

To illustrate the first branch of the subject matter of this chapter, and to sustain the positions assumed in the foregoing brief remarks, we quote from the Address of the Virginia Whig Conveation, held at Richmond, during the winter of 1843. We invite the attention, not of the Whigs only, but of the honest and candid of all parties in Tennessee, and elsewhere, to the views submitted by this State Convention. They are, indeed, addressed, rather to our opponents, than to our political friends; and all that we ask of them is a candid and dispassionate hearing. This Address commences :

“ FELLOW-CITIZENS :—You are all familiar with the memorable declaration of General Jackson in 1837, on his retirement from the Presidency, that he “ left this great people prosperous and happy ; in peace with all nations ; and flourishing beyond all former example.”—But the sagacious statesman who opposed his violent measures—the removal of the deposits, and the inflation of the State Banks—foretold with the accuracy of inspiration, the evils that must inevitably follow his interruption of the commercial relations of the country. What was the character of this prosperity, was soon visible in the sudden and overwhelming revulsion, which, in less than three brief months followed this self-complacent vaunt. The public debt, it is true, had been discharged, under the authority of an annual appropriation of ten millions, as a sinking fund, beginning in 1817, from the abundant means

flowing into the national coffers from the customs, and from extraordinary sales of the public domain. The Treasury was not only disencumbered of all its engagements resulting from two wars, but a large surplus had been distributed to the States. An ample fund was transmitted to Mr. Van Buren by his predecessor, and the party which, for eight years, had revelled in the *spoils*, entered upon a new lease of office, with buoyant hopes of a glorious harvest for eight years more. But the seeds of disease were sown so deeply in the commercial system of the country, that there was not only a diminution in the receipts from the customs, of more than one half in 1837, but a falling off in the land fund from the enormous amount of *twenty-five millions* in 1836, to *seven millions* in 1837!

But with this rapid decline of the means of the country, let us see whether the reduction of expenses kept a proportionate pace. Facts speak too audibly and intelligibly for contradiction.

From official statements of the Treasury Department by Mr. Woodbury, it appears that on the 1st day of January, 1837, there was a *surplus* in the Treasury arising from ordinary sources of revenue, of **SEVENTEEN MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS!!**

\$17,100,000

Additional sum accruing from Jan. 1, 1837, to March 4, 1841, from other than ordinary sources, (Bank, U. S.) 9,125,000

When the extravagance of the party ran beyond the income of the Treasury, so as to require the 4th instalment to the States to be withheld, Treasury Notes were authorised, and these were issued during the four years up to 4th of March, 1841, to the amount of 5,650,000

Total, \$31,875,000

Making, in all, *from other than the regular receipts* from the customs and public lands, during Mr. Van Buren's term, nearly **THIRTY-TWO MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!!**

Now let us see what was received from the regular sources of income during the period. From the customs:

From January, 1837, to January, 1841, the receipts were \$62,800,000

The receipts from this source having run up from *eleven millions* in 1837 to *sixteen millions* in 1838.

From the Public Lands, in the same period of 4 years 20,200,900

Making the ordinary revenue of Mr. Van Buren's term \$83,000,000

To these "**EIGHTY-THREE MILLIONS**" from the ordinary sources, add the foregoing sum from extraordinary sources 31,875,000

Total, \$114,875,000

And we have the enormous sum of nearly **ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS** paid into the Treasury during Mr. Van Buren's term of 4 years—an average of \$28,718,751 annually!

A liberal-minded people might deem this an ample sum, making due allowance for the growth of the country, especially as Mr. Adams was displaced for an annual expenditure of *thirteen millions!* But was this enough for the Reformers? Let the record speak. There was expended during the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration the following sums, viz :

In 1837	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$37,265,037
1838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	39,455,438
1839	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37,129,438
1840	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	28,226,533
Total,									\$142,076,304

An average of **THIRTY FIVE MILLIONS FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS** annually!

Upon the adjustment of balances, on the accession of Gen. Harrison to the Presidency, it was found that there was an actual deficiency in the Treasury, of **TWENTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS**; and that this deficiency was concealed from the public previously by the insidious method of postponing debts actually due, and borrowing from the resources of one year to pay the debts of a preceding year. This practice was kept up during the whole term of Mr. Van Buren, and the purposes of concealment were the better accomplished by a resort to Treasury Notes instead of loans.

Mr. Woodbury and Mr. Calhoun have both conceded (what, indeed, they could not well deny) that a National Debt existed, on the 4th of March, 1841, to the amount of the outstanding Treasury Notes, upwards of Five Millions of Dollars. But these gentlemen carefully avoided reference to the *deferred* appropriations made by Congress, which, with the outstanding notes, swelled the debt up to the amount we have stated, \$24,000,000. Indeed, Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, one of their own party, acknowledge e, in an address to his constituents, that the debt was *Twenty-Two Millions of Dollars!*

The items of this debt, however, are conclusively set forth in a Report of the Committee on Public Expenditures, of which Mr. Meriwether of Georgia was the chairman, during the winter of 1841-'2. The correctness of this report has not been impeached from any quarter. We subjoin an abstract—

Indebtedness recorded in Treasury Department.

Treasury Notes,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$5,283,831
Debts due Holland,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,440,000
Funded debt of late war,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	299,554
Unfunded debt,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	36,297

Those two last items were contracted during the late war.

Debts recorded in War Department.

Amount due twelve tribes of Indians, on which the Government pays an interest of \$131,000,	\$,2589,000
Amount due Chippewa and Ottawa Indians,	340,000

Amount due several tribes in trust and expended for use of Government,	129,388
Amount due Florida militia,	317,601
Amount due Georgia militia,	78,495
Amount due State of Georgia,	207,000
Amount due State of Maine,	200,000

Those four last items, amounting *to near a million of dollars*, were embraced in bills which passed both Houses of Congress the last night of Mr. Van Buren's term of office, but too late to receive the signature of the speaker; but they have since been provided for by a Whig Congress.

Debts recorded in Post Office Department.

Due arrearages to contractors,	\$27,993
Due contractors beyond means,	\$354,990

Debts recorded in Navy Department.

Amount Navy provision fund used,	\$,143,638
Actual deficiency of means to meet the appropriations made by the Congress which adjourned March 3, 1841, and previous Congresses,	\$12,080,221
	<hr/> \$24,719,008

Here, then, is a debt of more than TWENTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, every cent of which was contracted before the 4th March, 1841, and some which, in despite of the difficulties encountered by the Whigs, has been paid off since their ascendancy in the National Councils.

And this diminution of the public debt, it should be further remembered, was accomplished against a continued struggle of a factious Opposition, who, throughout nearly the whole period of the Extra Session, not only spoke for days and even weeks against all regular measures for the support of the Government, but actually voted against nearly all the appropriations in which they or their constituents had not a direct interest.

But the worst of the evils under which the country labored, was not merely in the creation of a National Debt, (which our adversaries are now falsely charging upon us,) and in factious resistance to all measures for the payment of that debt; but is to be found in a calamity which, years of prudence and self-denial can scarcely alleviate."

In this connexion, we would call the especial attention of the reader, to an extract from a late letter of GEN. HAMILTON to Mr. CALHOUN, dated London, September 9th, 1842—in which the condition of American credit abroad—the deranged state of our currency—the election of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency—the victory of New Orleans, &c., are all struck at in clear and forcible language. This whole letter is a well written document, and contains many interesting truths. Gen. Hamilton has ever been regarded as a Democrat—he is a strong friend of Mr.

Calhoun's—and stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the support of Gen. Jackson, when first elected. The extract we call attention to is in the following words:—

“A country of immense resources, in a period of profound peace, on the verge of bankruptcy! Any man who will read Hume's essay on ‘public credit’ and on money, can be at no loss to trace our present condition to its true source. We have been suffering ever since Gen. Jackson destroyed the Bank of the United States, (with the exception of a short period of distempered inflation created by his own measures) under a steady diminishing circulation, which the eminent philosopher to whom I have referred has declared to be one of the worst calamities that befall a civilized country—far more disastrous ‘than the continued blight of unfavorable harvests and seasons.’ This result has been founded, first, in the constant action of the Federal Government, or their supposed meditated action on the Banks of the States which created a universal panic, that has compelled the Banks to withdraw their circulation; and next, the General Government permitting to remain in criminal obeisance their sovereign function to supply a currency equal to the wants of the country and ‘to regulate its value.’

The consequences is, that the States have nothing in the shape of credit, or money at home to pay with abroad. Every species of property has fallen from fifty to one hundred per cent., and the standard of value so seriously distributed, that a man in 1839 might have had property to three times the value of his debts, yet he is now *ipso facto* ruined by the silent transit of our country from a redundant circulation to what some are pleased most felicitously to call a *hard money currency*—when the fact is, that we can procure neither that which is *hard* or *soft*!

By this alteration in the standard of value a revolution is in portentous progress in our country, as wide spread and desolating, as far as property is concerned, as that which distinguished and illustrated the masterpiece of human policy of the Robespierres, Dantons and Murats of another ill fated country which in its time was governed by its *demagogues too*, who made paper money so thick that it snowed as signals in the streets of Paris and then turn round and burned in their frenzy their own handiwork. Look, my dear sir, at the thousands of families that have been ruined—that have had unutterable woe, carried into the very bosoms of their houses by the nostrums of our *political quacks*, who, in their senseless war on the very banks they created, gave no time, ‘by preparatory revolution of the intervening discords,’ for the country to pass from a period of expansion to one severe and arid restriction.

To those who have been ruined in these unhappy times, whose estates have passed under the tender gripe of the sheriff, the moral justice of General Jackson's memorable apophthegm will be but a dry crust, ‘that those who borrow money ought to break,’ a doctrine out of which their creditors are likely to derive as little comfort as themselves although it must be admitted that the General tried all he could to secure this blessing to the country. But, my good sir, the day of

reckoning must come. The account will be adjusted now or by posterity hereafter.

One of its first sums will be to settle what the victory of New Orleans has cost us. These are generally expensive pageants any how. Bonaparte probably never achieved one for La Belle France, except to the tune of twenty millions of francs—to say nothing of the lots of 'cracked crowns and bloody noses' he left on the field of battle. But his victories, in cost, were no more to be compared to the victory of New Orleans, than a penny whistle is to Baron Munchausen's celebrated clarion under an April thaw. I CALCULATE THAT THE VICTORY OF THE EIGHTH OF JANUARY COST FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, BESIDES THE SMALL EXPENSE OF ENTAILING UPON THE COUNTRY A SET OF DRIVELLERS WHOSE FOLLY HAS TAKEN AWAY ALL DIGNITY FROM DISTRESS, AND MADE EVEN CALAMITY RIDICULOUS.

You will say hold. You and I are greatly responsible for this hero's getting into power. Yes, it is true, WILLINGLY WOULD I EXPIATE THIS SIN WITH MY BLOOD IF I COULD RECALL THE FATAL PAST. But this is impossible. Let us look with courage, and resolution on the future."

AND YET ANOTHER WITNESS!—The late efforts of Mr. ROBINSON, to sell the Government loan in England, continues to be a topic of remark, both in the English and American journals. A late number of the "LONDON SHIPPING GAZETTE," complains, "that the American press represent the British capitalists as being unable to take the loan, whereas, the only reason it was not taken was *the bad faith of some of the American States*. They continue to reiterate that, *that until the honor of all the American States is protected*, NO MORE BRITISH CAPITAL WILL BE TRUSTED IN AMERICA!!!"

Let Gen. Jackson, together with those of his "faith and order," who are advocating a *hard money currency*, and *repudiating* their honest debts, gaze upon the above picture of our national honor and credit where we have been going on "borrowed capital!" And in conformation of the foregoing, as well also, as of what Gen. Hamilton has said, let the Locofocos of our country examine the following extract from a number of "THE LONDON TIMES," called forth by the neglect of that great Locofoco State, Pennsylvania, to pay British capitalists the interest on her bonds:—

"It is understood that on one of the late applications from the United States the negotiator was distinctly told by a London capitalist, that so long as such a State as Pennsylvania could neglect to provide for the payment of its dividends, it would be perfectly useless to attempt to raise money either for State or Federal Government. The public opinion of England as to the condition of the American credit *cannot be kept too clearly before the eyes of the citizens of the United States.*"

CHAPTER VI.

THE TARIFF QUESTION—ITS INCREASING POPULARITY—ITS IMPORTANCE—WHO HAVE BEEN ITS SUPPORTERS—A DEMOCRATIC MEASURE.

THE question of a *Protective Tariff*, is daily becoming more and more agitated, as its great importance is felt. At the North—in the South—to the East—and in the far off West, the cry is, “Protection to Home Industry.” All intelligent men now regard this question, as one deeply involving the future prosperity and interests of this whole country. It is a broad and momentous question, in which every American has a *mutual* interest, though demagogues, for partizan purposes, may endeavor to array the South against the North, or draw the lines of *party*, for the purpose, more effectually, of defining the positions of Whigs and Democrats, so called. It is a question involving high and important considerations—a question which, whether decided one way or the other, must have a controlling influence on our destiny as a Nation, and our prosperity as a People, in all time to come. It is a question of *self-defence*, and therefore it is the more strange that it should meet with opposition, or even be tardily embraced by any.

The arguments in favor of the Protection of American Labor, are almost numberless, and those of them resorted to by the Whig party, are self-evident. The derangement, not to say ruin of the Currency, is universal, and is every day complained of, in every State in the Union; and we have no doubt but that a Protective Tariff will do more towards restoring the Currency to a healthy state, than any other yet devised, save the establishment of a National Bank. The daily complaint is, that the Banks will not afford accommodations to our merchants and other business men, and that they fail because of their inability to redeem their issues with specie. There is more truth than poetry in this unceasing cry, so far as the Banks are concerned, and for this reason: The only reliable basis of the Banks—the gold and silver of the country—is absorbed in the payment of foreign debts—debts contracted for foreign importations. We of course mean to include the whole country, and not a particular section. England sends her broad-cloths, and other heavy products of her ten cent. per day labor to this country, and demands gold and silver, and gold and silver bullion in return. France floods these United States, with her silks, wines, and other luxuries, to

the amount of TWENTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS per annum, for which nothing but gold and silver will be received. This is the way our country is drained of the only basis for a banking system. Is any man so blind as not to see it at once? Could even all the specie which we can ever have at any one time—about EIGHTY MILLIONS—be kept in this country, we would not then have a sufficient quantity for an exclusive metallic currency. Hence we see the necessity for a paper currency, and a specie basis is indispensable for even that. Neither England or France will buy our abundant crops of corn, wheat or rice, to any extent. England buys the article of Tobacco of us, but she puts a duty upon it, sufficient to raise from it alone, a revenue of THIRTY MILLIONS ANNUALLY! Upon our rice, England lays a duty of 100 per cent., and from that article alone, realizes a revenue of TWO MILLIONS annually. Upon our cotton, too, England puts a duty of such a character, as to raise a revenue of THREE MILLIONS annually. Beside all this, American mechanics meet with no market beyond the high seas, on account of the high duties imposed upon their labors. Verily, foreign ports are now almost universally bared against the products of our soil and industry, while our Locofoco demagogues, are crying at the top of their voices, "*free trade and sailors rights!*"

We have now taken a brieve view of the policy of England and France towards this country, and by way of contrast, let us see what is the policy adopted by this country towards these foreign nations.—Instead of having a Tariff sufficient to protect our manufacturers, and other laboreis, from a continual flood of foreign importations, we in fact cry out "free trade," and thus invite this ruinous one-sided traffick. England is overrun with manufactures, and she abounds with hundreds of thousands of naked and perishing men, women and children, who are glad to find employment for a mere livelihood, and by which means she turns out immense quantities of every kind of the products of labor with which she abounds, and which is forthwith shipped to this country and sold at low rates, so as to put down our own establishments—turn our laboring poor out of employment—break up and ruin our capitalists and injure every branch of our business in our whole country. Yes, the consequence is, there is no American market to encourage the growth of wool and cotton, and consequently of corn, pork, beef, rice, wheat, potatoes, and almost every article for consumption among work hands, beyond the necessities of the farmer himself, and his village neighbors. Did we produce, as we can, a surplus of all their articles, we could not send them abroad, but at the most ruinous prices, because all foreign ports are closed against them. We cannot find a home market, because the Locofoco doctrine of "free trade" has put down

our manufactures, and turned our mechanics out of employ, and even driven them to cultivate the soil, or starve. France sends two-thirds of all her exportations to this country free, and some of the most important European productions are at a premium. And previous to the enactment of the Tariff law of 1842, we charged ten per cent. on all silks beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and admitted all others free, giving the European silks an advantage over all others in our markets, of ten per cent. Thus are we made to enrich foreign countries, and foreign capitalists, under the iniquitous operations of this free trade doctrine, not only to our great detriment, but to our National ruin and disgrace. These are the advantages of the free trade system advocated by the Locofocos of the country. The immediate and inevitable consequence of the doctrine, as every man of sense must see, is the prostration of American industry, and the paralization of all manner of enterprise. Were our capitalists secured against the influx of foreign articles, as they should be, they could successfully embark in all manner of manufacturing enterprises, and thus afford profitable and constant employment to hundreds and thousands of laborers, and at the same time create a brisk and sure market for all kinds of produce, from every section of the Union. The fruits of the laborers would be in demand—those of the Mechanic would meet with a ready sale—and all classes, of every color, would be mutually benefited by this Home Market.

What, then, gentle reader, is the policy which this Government is called upon to adopt? What is the course which we as Americans are called upon to pursue? Are we any longer to submit to foreign taxation? Must we continue the slaves of foreign oppressors? Shall we continue to be made "hewers of wood and drawers of water," by European despotism? While England is becoming rich and powerful, shall we permit her to take us by the throat and choke us to the ground? To what foreign nation is America now greatly indebted, for goods and borrowed money? The answer is shamefully, palpably and humilitatingly true—to England, proud, arrogant and insulting England.—Shall this state of things continue any longer? Are not American broadcloths, American carpets, domestics, hats, boots, calicoes, and other like articles good enough for American People? Why then advocate the ruinous doctrine of "free trade and sailors rights," and thus foster a system of self-murder, and national ruin? No man can enter a retail store in this country, without seeing stamped upon the goods, the *British Crown*, and as if to attract attention in large capitals, connected therewith, is "Manchester,"—"Liverpool,"—"Bristol,"—"London,"—"Sheffield," &c.—Why do we not see in their stead, Boston, Lowell, New York, Charleston, Augusta, Cincinnati, Nashville, Baltimore,

Pittsburg, Richmond, &c? The answer is at hand—our manufactures are not *protected* by Congress.

To be prosperous, then, this country *must* protect herself—she must shut her ports against foreign encroachments—she *must* protect the industry of her citizens. Then, and not till then, will this Nation prosper. Let no one say that an oppressive system of Protection is called for—this is not necessary to secure the end proposed. The kind of Tariff called for by the interests of the country, and advocated by the Whig party proper, is fully described in the following eloquent extract from the late speech of HENRY CLAY, at Memphis, in reply to the welcome of LE ROY POPE, ESQ :

“Be not alarmed my friends he said, at the words I say—this is the *American System*—it is the long and short of the System—Industry and Economy—Make at home what we have been buying abroad—and in that way we will get out of debt, and keep so, and keep our money. *A moderate and reasonable tariff was all we ever desired—one sufficient to stimulate and sustain our own American, domestic industry and economy.* STABILITY and UNIFORMITY were the great necessities of the system. It should be equal and uniform in its operations on the great interests of the country.”

To show that Mr. Clay is consistent, moreover, as well as orthodox, we submit another extract from his speech at the great Indianapolis Barbacue, on the 5th of November, 1842 :

“The Whigs don’t want to destroy commerce, or to prohibit the introduction of foreign fabrics—that would be uncivilized; but they wish to secure a system of National *Independence*, which will enable the American people to live more upon their own resources. This is Whig policy. What do the Democratic leaders say at Washington?—They are in favor of “free trade” and would have no duties levied, but admit foreign fabrics, regulated only by the wants of the country. It is true, they don’t profess that this is their object, but it is the inevitable result of their doctrine. By their “free trade” notions, if practically carried out, our country would be impoverished—drained of the hard money which our Democratic leaders are so anxious to establish as the standard value of our productions. While our money would be thus drawn from us to support the pauper labor of Europe, they would not buy a cents worth from us not needed by their direct necessities. A state of things like this would not fail to drive us back to our colonial condition before the Revolution, when coon-skins and peltries formed the currency. While they are thus recommending to us the adoption of light duties and free trade, or no duties at all, they are submitting to the most enormous duties imposed by foreign Governments, on their own productions, amounting to nineteen hundred per cent on the article of tobacco alone! This is “reciprocity!”—the reciprocity of American “free trade” politicians and British manufacturers! Let me ask which party is the wisest and most patriotic—the one which protects the industry of the country from the rivalry of foreign govern-

ments, or that which consigns to the control of such rivalry the most vital interests of this great nation?"

It is now evident that the Locofoco party proper, intend to array themselves against a 'Tariff, either for *Revenue* or *Protection*, in the approaching Presidential contest. It is equally certain that the General Government has power to impose duties for the protection of American Industry against European Industry, and to counteract foreign legislation, hostile to our interest, and this question can be rendered so plain as not to admit of a doubt. This we propose to do, and we commence the work with the declaration, that when the States became independent, they unquestionably had the power. All this power however, to impose duties, the States transferred to the General Government, by the adoption of the Federal Constitution. They then *ceased* to have the power: and if, now, the General Government has it not, then the power is *extinct*. And certainly, no Locofoco advocate of free trade, however ultra in his views, would be willing to admit this conclusion. But the power still exists, as all must agree, and of course it is lodged with the General Government. To exhibit all the proof, however, which we have at command, to sustain this position, in every particular would occupy more space than we intend to devote to this matter. We shall endeavor, however, to show, that every Congress, and every President, from the foundation of the Government to the present day, has acknowledged the right, and the *expediency* and *constitutionality* of the right, on the part of the General Government, to lay duties, for revenue and protection. We shall then appeal to the irresistible authority of the Constitution itself; that thus "becoming all things to all men," we may at least convince some, and at the same time, show the harmony subsisting between the practice of all the Presidents, and the letter of the Constitution.

In the first Congress which convened in 1790, GEN. WASHINGTON, emphatically "*the Father of his country*," and a patriot altogether above suspicion, in his opening address to that body, says:

"The safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essentials, particularly for military supplies."

Upon this recommendation of Gen. Washington, Congress called upon Mr. Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, for a Tariff scheme, and in his report, he says:

"If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil upon terms consistent with our interests, the natural remedy is to contract, as fast as possible, our wants of her.

"Though it were that the immediate and certain effects of regula-

tions controlling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics was increase of prices, it is universally true that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it invariably becomes cheaper. Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded, and, accordingly, seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time than was the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place, soon does away every thing like monopoly, and by degrees, reduces the price of the article to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing, and with experience. Whence it follows, that it is the interest of a community, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. *In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it."*

In 1791, Mr. Jefferson, the reputed bell-wether of the Democracy of this country, made a report on the then state and condition of the *Fisheries*, speaking of which, he says :

"To these disadvantages, add ineffectual duties on importation of foreign fish. In justification of these last, it is urged that the foreign fish, received is in exchange for the produce of agriculture. To which it may be answered that the thing given is more merchantable than that received in exchange, and that agriculture has too many markets to be allowed to take away those of the fisheries. It will rest, therefore, with the wisdom of the legislature, to decide whether *prohibition shall not be opposed to prohibition, and high duty to high duty, on the fish of other nations* : whether any, or which, of the naval and other duties may be remitted, or an equivalent given to the fishermen in the form of drawback or bounty ; and *whether the loss of markets abroad may not, in some degree, be compensated by creating markets at home."*

So late as 1806, Mr. Jefferson employs the following language, in his Message to the two Houses of Congress :

"When both of these branches of revenue shall in this way, be relinquished, there will still, ere long, be an accumulation of money in the treasury beyond the instalments of public debt, which we are permitted by contract to pay. They cannot, then, without a modification assented to by the public creditors, be applied to the extinguishment of this debt, and the complete liberation of our revenues, the most desirable of all objects ; nor if peace continues, will they be wanting for any other existing purpose. The question, therefore, now comes forward, to what other objects shall these surplusses be appropriated, and the whole surplus impost, after the entire discharge of the public debt, and during those intervals when the purposes of war shall not call for them ? *Shall we suppress the impost, and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures ?"*

But at so late a date as January, 1816, Mr. JEFFERSON shouldered the whole system of *Protection*, in a letter to BENJAMIN AUSTIN, Esq. And although Mr. Jefferson had been opposed to the *Protective* policy, when a young man, we here have it from under his own hand, that his opinions were radically changed, after thirty years experience. So that great sticklers for consistency, as the Locofocos are, they are at variance with their "fountain head" on this subject, as they are wont to term Mr. JEFFERSON, and their Democracy of the present day is spurious. In this letter Mr. Jefferson says :

"You tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candor. But within the thirty years which have since elapsed, how are circumstances changed?—Compare the present state of things with that of 1783, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstances can be fairly applied to those of the present. We have experienced what we then did not believe, that there exists both profligacy and power to exclude us from interchange with other nations—that to be independent for the comforts of life, we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist. The former question is suppressed, or rather assumed a new form. The grand inquiry is now, shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of another nation? *He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures must be either for reducing us to a dependence on that nation, or be clothed in skins and to live like wild beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say that I am not one of them.* Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort; and if those who quote *me* as of a different opinion will keep pace with *me* in purchasing nothing foreign where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to any difference of price it will not be our fault if we do not have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest that weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly violated it."

Mr. Madison, in his first Message, in 1808, uses the following strong and unequivocal language, in reference to the question of Protection :

"The revision of our commercial laws, proper to adapt them to the arrangement which has taken place with Great Britain, will, doubtless engage the early attention of Congress. It will be worthy, at the time of their just and provident cares, to make such farther alterations in the law as will more *especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture*, which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertions of our citizens."

In 1815, and after the close of the war, Mr. Madison urges upon Congress, in his Message, the protection of home industry, associating *revenue and protection* together, and making one the incident of the other. He says :

"In adjusting the duties and imports to the object of revenue, the

influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be, which leaves the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition, which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches us that so many circumstances must concur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kind, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects particularly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress, and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens, whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, *for articles necessary for public defence or connected with the primary wants of man.*"

President Monroe, the successor of Mr. Madison, in his Inaugural Address, says :

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of Government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, to the degree we have done, on the supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us in the most serious difficulties. It is important, too, that the capital, which nourishes our manufactures should be domestic, and its influence in that case instead of exhausting, as it may do in foreign hands, would be felt advantageously on agriculture and every other branch of industry. Equally important is it to provide at home markets for our raw materials : as by extending the competition it will enhance the price, and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets."

President Jackson, who we believe, is *tolerably* good authority for *protection* with the Democracy, in his Message of 1830, says :

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged in the several States. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry, is so completely identical with that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States the right to exercise it for the purpose of PROTECTION does not exist in them ; & consequently, if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus

present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to FOSTER THEIR OWN INDUSTRY, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case: this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion, I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE, *who have repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution*, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States and the general understanding of the people."

But Gen. Jackson was in the Senate, in 1824, and voted for a strong PROTECTIVE TARIFF; and while that very bill was pending, he wrote as follows to Dr. Coleman, of North Carolina:—

"So far as the Tariff before us embraces the design of fostering and preserving within ourselves the means of national defence and independence, particularly in a state of war, *I would advocate and support it*. Providence has filled our mountains and plains with minerals—with lead, iron and copper; and given climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them *adequate and fair* protection, that our *manufactories and laborers* may be placed on a fair competition with those of *Europe*, and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war.—Beyond this I look at the *Tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor and revenue*; and with a view to the discharge of our national debt. I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturist? *Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus products?*—Except for cotton, he neither has a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture, and that the channels for labor should be multiplied.—Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture this superabundant labor—employ it in *mechanism and manufactures*, thereby erecting a home market for your *bread-stuffs*, and distributing labor to the most profitable amounts and benefits for the country will result. *In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized.*"

It will be refreshing to turn to the following resolution, which was adopted at a *Democratic* meeting in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, December 9th, 1827. See Niles' Register, for that year, Volume 9, page 212:—

"*Resolved*, That Andrew Jackson is entitled to our support as the decided and open friend to domestic manufactures and internal improvement, having voted, whilst lately a member of the Senates, for the tariff of 1824, which is now the only law on the subject, and five times, in favor of internal improvements in the same year, and in no case against them, whilst John Quincy Adams, when a member of the same

body, voted seven times against internal improvements, and never once for them ; and has never before or since he became president, said one word to Congress in favor of the tariff."

Thus it will be seen, that in 1824, '27, and '30, a *Protective Tariff* was a *Democratic* doctrine, and Gen. Jackson was lauded to the skies, by the then Jackson party, for his support of domestic manufactories, and *Internal Improvements by the General Government* ! Locofocoism, however, has abandoned this good old doctrine, and set up the British theory of "*Free Trade*" in its place, but its leaders never change !—The Whigs, though, still sustain the domestic manufactories and home industry of the country, standing on the old Jackson platform, and bearing aloft the principles which brought that Hero into power ; and yet, the Whig leaders have changed, and have gone astray after false gods !

And among the proceedings of the Democratic Legislature of Pennsylvania, for the Spring of 1843, we find the two subjoined resolutions. These resolutions are the more interesting from the fact, that the Locofocos are largely in the majority in both branches of the Pennsylvania Legislature. They are *coming to their senses* in the old "Keystone State," and all *Southern* demagogues, including those of *Tennessee*, would do well to profit by their example. See the vote of the House of Representatives, on these resolutions :—

"*Resolved*, That we deprecate any action on the part of Congress at its present or any other session in relation to the Tariff, which would be calculated to disturb its permanency in future, or induce the belief anywhere that a well regulated system of duties is not regarded as a part of the settled policy of the Government."

This resolution passed by yeas 72, nays 11 !

"*Resolved*, That a Tariff based upon such principles as shall raise revenue to meet all demands on the Treasury, and at the same time, by a proper discrimination in favor of our domestic manufactures and agricultural productions, afford adequate protection to these great interests, is not only constitutional but called for by every consideration of sound policy and is absolutely necessary to make us independent as a nation in war and in peace."

And this resolution passed by yeas 36, nays ONE !

In the Tariff law of 1824, which passed the Senate, 25 yeas to 12 nays, the duty was raised on all the prime articles of necessity, greatly above the Tariff of 1816, especially on Iron, Salt, Tea, Coffee and Sugar. Among those who voted for that law, were, MARTIN VAN BUREN, THOMAS HART BENTON, JOHN H. EATON, ANDREW JACKSON, MAHLON DICKERSON, and RICHARD M. JOHNSON !

The Tariff bill which passed the House, in 1832, by a vote of 132 to 65, laid a heavy duty on many of the *indispensables* of life, among which were 'TEA and COFFEE! Among others who voted for this "bill of abominations," were C. C. CAMBRELING RICHARD M. JOHNSON, CLEMENT C. CLAY, CAVE JOHNSON and JAMES K. POLK!

The reason why these distinguished DEMOCRATS voted as they did on those memorable occasions, will be found, we presume, in the following extract from the Constitution, an instrument they were *sworn* to support:

"The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

Thus it will be seen, that the Constitution expressly authorises the Federal Legislature to impose just such duties, and have been in existence since 1790. Not only so, but the Constitution prohibits the exercise of this authority by the States, *except with the consent of Congress*. Here is what it says:

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress."

CHAPTER VII.

UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE—DESIGNS OF THE CATHOLICS AGAINST THIS COUNTRY—POPERY AND LOCOFOCOISM BLENDED—MARTIN VAN BUREN'S LETTER TO THE POPE—THE SAYINGS OF BISHOP ENGLAND AND OTHER PRIESTS—SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THAT portion of this work which we propose to devote to the consideration of *Romanism*, and its connexion with *Locofocoism*, in this country, must necessarily be extended—perhaps, beyond the limits which an impartial reader would prescribe. We shall consider the subject patiently, and without a strict regard to system, aiming only, to give that information which is so necessary to be diffused abroad, and to establish, before we dismiss the subject, the truth of what we have charged for the last five years, namely, an unholy alliance between the leading Romanists and Locofocos of this country.

In our introductory chapter, we present our readers with a remarkable editorial article of "THE LONDON TIMES," together with the able commentary of "THE BRITISH CHRONICLE," upon the same article—both of so recent a date as 1842. Taken together, these articles define the position of the king of Prussia, in reference to interests of the very highest concern, both to his and our country. The king of Prussia, hitherto regarded as at the head of Protestantism on Continental Europe, and indeed regarded as a man of personal piety, is seen invading the freedom of opinion and the rights of conscience, in his efforts to consolidate the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, and establishing uniformity of faith and discipline in the anti Popish part of his kingdom; and *by authority* imposing upon them a creed of his own. Nor is this all, else would it be tolerable. He distinctly shows his intention of imposing *Prelacy* upon them. He has, it seems, in a recent visit to Cologne, attended at the celebration of the *Mass*; and what is more startling, lent his aid and influence, in laying the corner-stone of a *Roman Cathedral*! And what will fall heavy on the ears of Protestants, both in Europe and America, all this is regarded with favor by the leading ministerial journals of the British empire.

Before we, therefore, contemplate the onward and upward march of Popery in these United States, turn we to Britain herself—and what do we find to be the growing tendencies of the Established Church?—Puseyism is spreading on every hand, and is now *Popery* almost with-

out disguise. The constant advocate and expounder of Puseyism, is a work called "*THE BRITISH CRITIC.*" We have recently seen copious extracts from the latest numbers of this work, in which *the Reformation is openly denounced—a return to Popery is advocated*—and in reference to the Episcopacy of England, the daring question is asked with boldness, "*Why may not the Pope be the supreme Bishop?*"

In reference to our own beloved country, Popery is alarmingly on the increase, as every attentive observer is aware, mainly on the score of emigration—but to a far greater extent than is generally believed, by its close and insidious connexion with what is known to the American reader, by the imposing appellation of *Jackson Van Buren Democracy*. And we grieve to write the conviction to which we are compelled, that modern Democracy every where is tending more and more to exalt Romanism, with its iniquitous forms, ceremonies and pretensions—and to put down Protestantism, by a union of Catholic and Locofoco interests. In every part of this country Popery is now found. At every conspicuous point, it is, with the utmost sagacity, at great cost, and with untiring assiduity, fortifying itself, and preparing for the eventful future. Cathedrals and churches, colleges and nunneries, are being multiplied to an alarming extent. To the widest extent possible, the education of the young is being monopolized by the Catholics. There is no mingling with others. They do *their own business in their own way*—they educate their children and youth, among *themselves*, and no where else.

In political matters, too, their influence is already powerfully felt, and by those against whom they direct their energies, (the Whigs) very much dreaded. Hundreds of thousands, every year, reach the shores of America, from Ireland, Austria, France, and other countries; and strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that almost to a man, in the State and National elections, they vote the Locofoco ticket. True, upon their arrival here, and for years afterwards, they learn but little in reference to our laws, institutions, or men, but they nevertheless vote with the Locos, and are even the most clamorous at the polls. What does this argue? It evidently proves that they are instructed by their *Priests* how to vote, and that, their leaders, and the leaders in the Locofoco ranks, have a perfect understanding. Can any unprejudiced man doubt the fact? Certainly not.

Recently, the plan of a society, spread abroad for public approval in Ireland, for the express purpose of sending out to these United States, Roman Catholics in masses, accompanied by their Priests, to colonize whole districts of our fertile west. The outlines of this grand scheme, to over-run this country, we will subjoin, when we shall have given the

articles from British Journals, already promised. This proposed society is to pay the cost of transportation, and provide the soil, and to be remunerated by the proceeds of three years' labor of the Catholic emigrants, or rather colonists. But they are to leave, at the end of the three years, themselves and their lands, in the hands of the Priesthood, the instruments of their corrupt and arbitrary pleasure.

Who has not been startled at the call of BISHOP ENGLAND, in 1840, upon the Catholic population of the United States, to rally to the standard of Democracy, and support for the highest office in this country, MARTIN VAN BUREN? Have any forgotten the fulsome letter of Mr. Van Buren, to the Pope of Rome, telling him, (*by authority*) of the high esteem in which he was held, and his church generally, by PRESIDENT JACKSON? And do not Protestants generally recollect, and with regret too, that the Romanists, in New York, by employing the balance of political power, in the hands of the Locofocos, procured the passage of a law, by which they got hold of the School Funds of that State, and well nigh destroyed the excellent school system of the State?

Who has not been startled more recently, by the hardihood of the pastoral letter put forth by BISHOP HUGHES of New York, in which the right of the priesthood to all church property is asserted—trustee boards are assailed—mixed marriages forbidden—and all secret societies and private associations denounced, under the severest penalties upon their members, living and dead?

The outrage upon the Sandwich Islands by Papists, under the sanction of the French Government, is fresh in the recollection of all. And, indeed, almost wherever Protestant missions are found, Popish Locofoco emissaries, the most depraved, foul and devilish are met, resisting and impeding every good work. We speak, our readers will recollect, of the dark deeds of *our times*, and do not go back to the gloomy period of the Reformation itself, or of the *Spanish Inquisition*.

We enquire then, in all candor, is there not danger to be apprehended from this perpetual enemy to civil and religious liberty—this despotism, Popery, the constant ally of Locofocoism in this country, and of all that is despotic in other countries? Let the Papacy of this country, organized as it is, and capable of being moved in a mass by a single mind, and that mind the Pope's, feel that it holds the balance of power, and at that very moment our civil liberties, and our rights of conscience are gone. A Catholic Priest will be elevated to the Presidency—a Catholic Congress convened—and the Christians of this nation will be called to a higher test of fidelity to their country and their God, than is at present apprehended.

What then, enquires the reader, is to be done? Abstain from aiding to build up a power, which, if it gain the ascendancy, cannot fail to crush us. Abstain from the support of Locofocoism, to support which, is to aid Romanism in disguise. At every toil and expense, fill the country with Bibles, and Tracts, and religious periodicals. Circulate Whig papers, and documents, which oppose Popery. Support candidates for office, who have independence enough to come out against the secret plots of Romanism, and the corruptions of Locofocoism.—Maintain an elevated standard of piety; and seek, by every lawful means to promote spiritual religion. Be importunate and unwearied in prayer to Him who has the command of all hearts, and the destinies of nations in his hands. For fervent and effectual prayer, where true religion is enjoyed, creates an atmosphere, in which neither Popery or Locofocoism, can long flourish.

“ESTABLISHED AND POPISH CHURCHES.—The position occupied by the king of Prussia at the present moment in the religious world, is not a little remarkable; and the recent events at Cologne are calculated, even more than the proceedings connected with the establishment of an English bishopric at Jerusalem, to turn general attention to it. The king's mind is evidently directed; and his policy is likely to be addressed, in no slight degree, towards this point; and there is a grandeur and unquestionable sincerity and piety in his intentions, which must command the respect even of those who differ from his views, or apprehend mischief from his measures. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how those views can be fully realized, without a greater moral revolution than that accomplished by the Reformation itself, *involving the overthrow of the notion of theological orthodoxy as a practical element in Christianity.* We are not ourselves among those who look upon the accomplishment of such a design as possible; but in the present extraordinary state of religion in Germany, and throughout the world, it is not easy to foresee what may be the consequences of any serious attempt to prosecute it under the auspices of so powerful a prince, and so really good a man as the king of Prussia. Experience forbids the supposition that any comprehensive scheme of religious policy, whether for good or evil, whether practicable or impracticable, can be carried on for a series of years by a temporal sovereign, *without important consequences resulting from it, political as well as moral.* We should look, with interest, and not without anxiety, to the development of that course in which the late celebration at Cologne must be regarded as a step of considerable moment, even if we could view it with the feelings of mere spectators. This, however, is far from the case; *the king of Prussia's views do not stop short of those of ourselves*; he is possessed with as much more august idea than that of establishing a concord of indifferentism among his own subjects; or rather, he is too wise a man not to know that it is impossible to isolate one kingdom in Europe from the religious sympathies and disturbances of sympathy which affect the rest. Taking, therefore, his own authority in his own dominions as the centre and basis, and the Germanic feeling of nation-

ality as the immediate circle and atmosphere of his operations, he embraces within his design those more remote influences towards which the moral powers of Prussia and Germany may be supposed to aggravate *and seeks to comprehend in that federal unity of exerts which he is bent upon consolidating, the Church of England on the one hand, and the Church of Rome herself on the other.*

Whatever may be thought of the practicability of this project, (tho' the principles on which it is founded, have met with distinguished advocates in this country, including the lamented Dr. Arnold, and the present Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford) it cannot surprise any one acquainted with the religious history of Germany, and Prussia particular, that it should be considered practicable by king Frederick William. The State of theological opinion (or to speak more appropriately, the views of religious philosophy) which it presupposes has long been prevalent in Protestant Germany. The systems of doctrinal belief handed down by Luther and Calvin, in process of time, *and under the influence of that liberty of private judgment which they also transmitted as the first principles of religion*, became thoroughly decomposed. Things went on so far that the alternative in advance was either to deny Christianity, or to make an absolute separation between the province of dogmatic theology, and that of religious faith; reducing the former to a mere department of philosophy, and the latter to a simple development of the individual character. The last alternative was naturally accepted, as the better in itself, and the more agreeable to the mystical tendencies of the German mind. In this condition the late king of Prussia found the religion of his subjects, when (having like his son, a constructive genius and appreciating the advantages of union, and the opportunity afforded by the state of the dogmatic principle) he determined upon founding a new Church, by the combination of the till then divided Lutheran and Calvinistic sects.—The king, therefore, with the assistance of his minister, M. Bunson, compiled a new liturgy, and arranged a new organization, to which such of the Lutheran and Calvinistic pastors as thought proper, were invited to confirm, a certain day. The majority of them did so; and what was optional at first, was eventually made compulsory to the remainder. In this manner the dissensions of Lutheranism and Calvinism were extinguished in Germany; and a unity arose, in the shape of what is now designated the Prussian Evangelical Church.

A much more formidable task, however, still remained; and the differences which arose between the Crown of Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne, upon the subject of mixed marriages, proved at once the importance of producing (if possible) a religious harmony between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the great difficulty of that undertaking. It was probably not without a view to this object, that the late king is said to have contemplated the introduction of episcopacy into his new Church: and the present king has followed up that design, *by entering into negotiations with some of our own bishops*, and contributing to the support of an English bishop at Jerusalem, expressly for the purpose of obtaining episcopal orders for candidates for the pastoral office in the German Church. The alliance which through

these negotiations, it has been endeavoring to establish between the Prussian Evangelical Church and the Church of England, gave occasion for a public expression of the king's desire to consolidate a general religious concord, *upon the principle of the essential unity of the different creeds of Christendom; and this principle seems to have been admitted by the English prelates concerned.* It was thus announced in the Prussian State Gazette, "All parties agreed in the conviction that the diversities of the Christian worship in the Protestant Church were upheld by a superior unity, to which all the diversities referred as to their centre, was the foundation of true Christian toleration."

About the same time that the king's views were received thus favorably by the English prelates, they were making similar progress at the court of Rome. Through the instrumentality of the same able diplomatist who organized the Prussian Evangelical Church, and negotiated the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric, a settlement of the questions in dispute between the king and the Archbishop of Cologne was obtained from the Pope, which conceded the whole question of mixed marriages, superseded the Archbishop from the practical exercise of his functions, and, in fact, gave a complete triumph to the Prussian Crown. The king naturally claims this as a momentous victory to his favorite principle; and the late ceremonial at Cologne has been a celebration of this victory, as the completion of that magnificent structure is intended to be a monument of it. As in London his majesty exemplified that principle, by going in state to St. Paul's in the morning, while he privately attended the Lutheran chapel in the afternoon, so at Cologne he went first to the Protestant service, and afterwards (to the lively joy of a crowded Roman Catholic congregation) assisted at high mass in the Cathedral. Nor was the conduct dictated by temporary policy, or religious indifference; it sprang from convictions most deep and sincere, and shared at the time, as the circumstances would fairly lead us to infer, by the Pope's representative, and the whole Roman Catholic population at Cologne;—convictions which the king expressed in his feeling and eloquent speech, when he said that "this was a work of brotherly feeling of Germans of all denominations, of all creeds;" when he declared his hope that the path under the gates might never be trodden by the disturbers of the peace of "confessions;" and when he uttered his prayers that the great work might prove "a monument of the brotherly feeling between creeds who feel that they are one before their sole, their Divine Head." *It is not a little remarkable that the conduct and the language of the king in his intercourse with the Church of England, and the manner in which his advances were received by our bishops, should have been so closely paralleled by the events at Cologne, where the Roman Catholic Church was the religious body concerned.*—*London Times of 1842.*

[From the British Chronicle.]

"CONSPIRACY AGAINST RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.—In another part of this paper we give one of the most extraordinary documents, which has appeared in modern times, viz., the leading article of the London Times for 26th Sept. This article we request our

readers to peruse before they read what follows. 'The most important parts we have marked with italics. 'To many it will appear like the spirit of alarm to draw so important an inference as our title conveys from an article in the ephemeral columns in a daily newspaper. The London Times, however, is no ordinary paper. With its immense sheet of twenty thousand thrown off every morning, with its correspondence in every quarter of the world, its unlimited resources, the unequalled talents of its writers, and the powerful party whose organ it is, whatever is found in its columns, when deliberately and thoughtfully weighed, as this article is, must claim a more than ordinary share of interest.

We are no alarmists, but we are not without apprehension, that the time may come when every man who maintains the right of private judgment, may have to combat for the free exercise of that right, in every quarter of the civilized world. And the most likely means of preventing such a state of things from ever arising, is to watch narrowly and jealousy the proceedings of those who openly avow themselves as the enemies of religious liberty.

The article in question is introduced by a discussion of the proceedings of the king of Prussia, in regard to the religion of his subjects; and it is said that "there is grandeur, and unquestionable sincerity and piety in his intentions." We are then informed of the proceedings of the late king, who found the systems of Luther and Calvin so decomposed, that "the only alternative was either the denial of Christianity, or to make an absolute separation between the province of dogmatic theology and religious faith; reducing the former to a mere department of philosophy, and the latter to a simple development of the individual character." We are then told that the king, preferring the latter alteration to an entire extinction of Christianity, founded a sect of his own, under the name of the Prussian Evangelical Church,

The endearing term under which this new Church was founded might well have deceived many Christians into the belief that Frederick William, being in the end of his days filled with pure zeal for the cause of religion, had no other motive but to produce Christian union among the Lutherans and Calvinists, who are divided by no essential barrier, and thus the piety of the king would at first appear to be a chief feature in the transaction.

"The silver trumpet's heavenly call
Sounds for the poor, but sounds alike for all;
Kings are invited, and would kings obey.
No slaves on earth more welcome were than they."

But alas! this was no matter of Christian persuasion or Christian arrangement between two religious bodies, drawing closer the bonds of harmony. Let the Times speak—"The king, therefore, with the assistance of his minister, M. Bunson, compiled a new liturgy, and arranged a new organization *to which such of the Lutheran and Calvinistic pastors as thought proper were invited to conform on a certain day. The majority of them did so; and what was left optional at*

first, was eventually made compulsory on the remainder. In this manner the distinctions of Lutheranism and Calvinism were extinguished."

Let us pause for a moment over this sad account of matters in Prussia. The invaluable labors of Luther and Calvin, two of the noblest spirits that ever visited the world, are thus devoted to destruction. The imbecile king of Prussia, with the assistance of his minister, sends out a liturgy which his clergy are required to sign by a certain day, *and those who refuse are compelled to do so.* The systems of Luther and Calvin were, as the Times says, "handed down under the influence of that liberty of principle of religion." Aye! here is the true solution of the whole matter—*liberty of private judgment.* All the miserable sophistry of the Times about "dogmatic theology," "department of philosophy," "mystical tendencies of the German mind," are explained by this single sentence.

If the late king had really been in earnest for the interests of religion he would have urged on the clergy more earnest attention to their spiritual duties, a more active dissemination of the word of God. But he had no faith in the means which have hitherto been blest for the propagation of pure religion; none in the grain of mustard seed, which might become a great tree, when sown in good soil. These means were not great enough in the eye of the royal legislator. He must do some "great thing," and he issues a royal edict to cure the divisions and infidelity of his people, and that edict as tyrannical as that which threw Daniel into the lions' den. In this way, says the Times, these dissensions were cured. We shall see. Yet it may be permitted that liberty of conscience shall be put down in Prussia. *These discussions may possibly be cured.*

There is no word of *a dogmatic theology*, when it is the theology of Frederick William. The dogmatic theology that it was necessary to get rid of, did not compel any one to embrace its creed but from conviction, but the king's theology, like that of the Pope, and that erudite defender of the faith, Henry VII, *is made compulsory*, as the Times meekly and modestly expresses it. The dissensions may be healed. So they were after St. Bartholomew, at least for a time. So they were after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, when religion persecution drove the best and purest people of France from her dominion. But after three generations had run their course, that fated country, which was troubled with no "right of private judgment," awoke from its slumbers of unmitigated superstition and infidelity, and the blood of Protestant martyrs was fearfully avenged in the carnage of the revolution. A terrible retribution will in like manner follow this daring invasion on the sacred rights of consistency.

But let us observe the course of the *present* King of Prussia. His Rhenish subjects, who are bigoted Roman Catholics, opposed him on the question of mixed marriages, and the king having applied to the Pope, that crafty functionary finding his majesty so much of his own way of thinking about the interesting matter of "private judgment," gives him all his own way about the marriages, and his majesty goes

to Cologne, the capital of his Rhenish provinces, and in proof of his triumph, goes in the forenoon to the Protestant service, and in the afternoon assists at high mass, at the cathedral, to the lively joy of a crowded Roman Catholic congregation.

As Protestants, we may lament over this fall of him who was considered the head of the Protestant cause on the continent of Europe; but as far as his majesty of Prussia going to any church he pleases is concerned, we have no right to withhold from him the liberty which we claim ourselves. Every thing in the shape of penal laws or disqualification on account of religious opinion we have ever opposed and ever will. Yet we must lament the inconsistency of any person going to a Protestant church, an essential and fundamental principle of which is, that it *protests* against Popery as the antichrist of the word of God, that the mass is an idolatrous service, and that the Bible should be given to all people; and then going after immediately to the Roman Catholic cathedral, and assisting at that very mass, in connection with that very Church, which holds that all connected with the Protestant Church are utterly excluded from salvation; and which whenever it can shuts out the word of God from its people.

The king of Prussia is in a dilemma. He cannot believe in *both* religions. If he has in his new creed destroyed the *protesting* principle and all the essentials of the Protestant faith, then he no longer belongs to the Reformed religion. If he has preserved these distinctions, then is his hypocrisy an inconsistency of the most glaring and offensive kind. We will not be surprised to hear, by next steamer, that his majesty had gone in the evening to hear the Koran expounded, and with reverence bowed his head towards the holy Mecca, crying out, "that there is no God but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." Why not? Dogmatic theology is banished, except in the ancient dominions of Prussia, where the "liberty of private judgement," is inconsistent with the royal creed.

We come now to the most important part of this article—viz: that which has relation to England.

We are informed that the king of Prussia does not confine his plans to his own dominions or to Germany, but to more remote influence; in short, it comes out "that he is bent on consolodating the Church of England on the one hand, and the Church of Rome on the other." We are told that the late king's plans had met with distinguished advocates in England; the late Dr. Arnold, and the present Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, being among the number; that the present king had followed up the plan of his predecessor, by an application to the Church of England to consecrate bishops for the new religion which had been made for his people; and that the king "had expressed a wish to consolidate a general religious concord, upon the essential unity of the different creeds of Christendom; and this principle seems to be admitted by the English prelates concerned;" and finally, the Times states, "it is not a little remarkable that the conduct and the language of the king in his intercourse with the Church of England, and the manner in which his advances were received by our

bishops, should have been so closely paralleled by the events at Cologne where the Roman Catholic Church was the religious body concerned."

And now for the principles of the Times on these important movements. The Editor says "we should therefore look with interest and not without anxiety, to the development of that course in which the late celebration at Cologne must be regarded a step of no inconsiderable moment, even if we could view it with the feeling of mere spectators. This, however, is far from the case; *the king of Prussia's views do not stop short of those of ourselves.*"

Startling as this unblushing avowal is, we were not altogether unprepared for it. The Times has for some months been throwing out its feelers in this direction, and the Quarterly Review has made repeated allusions to something like a project for an uniformity of religious views and has hinted at "the powers inherent in the Church" being put forth. Here it is most impudently avowed by the most powerful journal in existence, that it would go all the length with the king of Prussia, who compelled his subjects into submission to his own creed. So in the language of this base journal, England is to radiate around Prussia, and to shape her course, not according to the conscientious belief of her people, but according to the views of his Prussian Majesty, of the Pope, and of the *English bishops*.

Will any party be found in England base enough to support such a proposition?

We would have said decidedly, No, if the proof had not come from quarters so influential, and known to be connected with the High Church party in England. If such a plan has been seriously contemplated, it can have but one meaning, viz., to submit the Christian people of Europe, in a body, to the See of Rome. There is no half measure. Rome is *infallible*. There might be an alteration in some part of the Episcopalian liturgy and government, without trenching on the great truths to which they bear testimony. The Presbyterians might shape their Church government to approximate more nearly to the Independents. The Methodists and Baptists might approach nearer to each other in some minor matters. None of these bodies say they are infallible, but look for their guide to the word of God. But the Church of Rome cannot accommodate her opinions. Heretics must come back to her by renouncing all their heresies. Any alteration of the slightest kind would break the spell which binds her deluded followers.

We therefore feel satisfied that the talk about a union is merely a covered way of getting the Protestants to walk through Puseyism, to the dark regions of Popery. It is quite evident, that by whatever name the king of Prussia may call his new faith, he has effectually renounced Protestantism. No Protestant could assist at the mass, which is only a blasphemous attempt to repeat that sacrifice "which was offered once for all, for the sins of men."

It is a poor return of the continental head of the Protestant cause, to that God who covered his people in the hour of battle, after being brought to the lowest ebb by the oppression of Bonaparte. Better it

would have been to have redeemed the broken promises made by his father to his land and gallant young students, that he give a free constitution to Prussia, if they would only stand by him in putting down the common enemy. How did Frederick William redeem that promise? For twenty-five years he studiously declined all grant of civil liberty, and died with the satisfaction of having deprived his people of religious liberty also.

"We go the full length of the king of Prussia," says the Times. Yes, base traitor to the British constitution. We will see who will back your project against the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy of the "right of private judgment." Will Sir Robert Peel? We think not. He has too much English feeling; and besides, is too timid to embark in such a desperate enterprise.

Graham and Stanley would do any thing to save their Church patronage, which will be far more in jeopardy by such a desperate course than they otherwise will be. It is *treason* to the British constitution which is proposed. And do the Puseyites and the half Romans really think that the arms of the people of England are all unstrung? Do they believe that there are no descendants in the land, of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley; none in Scotland, of Knox and Melville, of Guthrie and Cameron? Has history been recorded in vain? Do they not know that multitudes of pious men, both clergy and laity, within the Church of England; that all the Presbyterians, Methodists, Independents and Baptists in the three kingdoms, would repudiate the unhallowed union, and would shed the last drop of their blood in defending the right of "private judgment?"

Do they not know that the moment any such attempt is made, it not only commits the ministers, but the Sovereign—that the defence and maintenance of the Protestant religion is the charter by which the present gracious and popular Queen holds her power. Let that charter be violated, and every subject is released from his allegiance.

"We too are friends to loyalty. We love
The king who loves the law, respects his bounds,
And reigns content with them.
We trust him not too far, though king he be,
And king of England too; he may be weak,
May exercise amiss his proper powers,
Or covet more than freemen choose to grant.
Beyond that mark is treason."

We will not believe that the present amiable and accomplished Sovereign, would suffer any set of ministers to bring her into a course fraught with such danger to herself, and misery to her people. But one thing is certain, that the Prussian monarch may now be regarded as having ranged himself on the side of Rome; and it is to be feared that his people are too indifferent about religion to resist his will.

"The word of prophecy, those truths divine,
Which make that heaven, if those desire it, thine,
Are never long vouchsafed, if pushed aside

With cold disgust, or philosophic pride ;
 And that judiciously withdrawn, disgrace,
 Error and darkness occupy their place.
 Then priests, with bulls and briefs, and shaven crowns,
 And griping fists, and unrelenting frowns,
 Legates and delegates with powers from hell,
 'Tho' heavenly in pretense, will fleece thee well."

We submit to our readers whether we have said too much, when we assert that there is a *conspiracy against religious freedom*.

And let the United States not lay the flattering unction to their souls in supposing they will escape. Next to Britain, the Roman Catholic superstition is exerting its powers most in this country, and not without success; and it is strongly assisted by the political power so profusely bestowed on the many thousands of the most ignorant and bigoted of that persuasion.

We make no apology for the length of this article. Every genuine lover of liberty must be aware of the deep necessity of watching these movements."

"Knock at the gate of nations, rouse their fears,
 Say wrath is coming, and the storm appears;
 But raise the shrillest cry in British ears."

[From the Home Missionary.]

"GRAND SCHEME FOR PLANTING IRISH CATHOLIC COLONIES IN THE WESTERN STATES.—During the past summer (1842) a pamphlet was issued in London and in Dublin, entitled, a "*Proposed new plan for a General Emigration Society: By a Catholic Gentleman,*" containing a project for colonizing the Irish poor, by sending them to America. As watchmen on the walls of our American Zion, we deem it our duty to give some account of this Society. The pamphlet is written with clearness and earnestness, and although it falls into some errors as to American affairs, it exhibits a good degree of information concerning our country. Besides other claims to attention, we are assured on respectable authority, that in England its authorship is ascribed to a gentleman well known in the business circles, and possessing a species of influence that is likely to gain for the project a large amount of pecuniary and ecclesiastical support.

In a general view, the scheme proposed, is that of the "Centralization system" of Wakefield, exemplified in Australia. The leading objects presented by the plan, are the following: First, to dispose of the *excess of population*. Second, so to dispose of it, as to create a larger demand for British manufactures. Third, to render the Catholic religion predominant in the United States. In carrying out these objects, the process to be employed is the colonizing of the Irish Catholic poor in the Western States. Fourth, a *pecuniary profit* on the capital invested. Fifth, preparing an agreeable asylum for a large class of persons, whose present situation is uncomfortable, such as the younger

sons of the nobility and gentry; gentlemen of decayed fortune; and those who now hang upon the army and navy, or overstock the learned professions and find no employment, &c., &c.

MEANS OF CARRYING OUT THE PLAN.—These appear to be briefly, these: The Society bears the expense of transporting the emigrant, and meets his first wants in the field; and in return, he pledges himself to labor a period not less than three years, at reduced wages, for the society, and under the directions of his priest. The improvements thus made are the property of the Society, and are to be made profitable in a way specified.

HOW EMIGRANTS ARE TO BE OBTAINED AND THEIR CO-OPERATION SECURED?—It has become a fact now notorious to all, what wonderful, not to say miraculous results, the TEMPERANCE PLEDGE, administered by the Reverend Father Mathew and the Irish Clergy, has wrought upon the peasantry of the country. All witness with wonder, and are lost in admiration of its efficacy.

That country, where it was almost considered unmanly and certainly unsocial, to be habitually sober, is now by the extraordinary power of the pledge thus administered, become as admirable for the industry and sobriety of its inhabitants, as it was previously noted for their irregular and riotous habits.

A solemn pledge is given to his parish priest, has had influence sufficient to make an Irish peasant forego the enjoyment of a pleasure which, according to his estimate of human happiness, perhaps ranked as its chief ingredient, and relinquishment of which must certainly, at first, have been one of the greatest privations he could submit to. Is it for a moment to be believed that this man would less rigidly observe a pledge to serve the same pastor, diligently and faithfully, *for a given period*, who should promise to lead him and his family from a land of misery and want. one where, with fair remuneration for his labor, he would be insured wholesome and abundant food—a comfortable habitation—and that which is most dear to the heart of every Irishman, however uncultivated, the uninterrupted and peaceful enjoyment of the religion of his forefathers, with the same facilities he enjoyed in his native land?

And what would be required of him in return, for these unlooked-for blessings? That he should place his labor and that of his family, at the disposal of the contemplated Society *for a period in no instance exceeding three years*, at a rate of wages below those of America, but probably double what he would receive at home under the most fortunate circumstances; and on a spot, too, where the same amount of money would purchase him double the quantity of the necessaries of life. Less could not be expected by the Society in return for a free passage and transit to the location first assigned to these emigrants, and where comfortable and suitable dwellings would be provided for them.

Several of the most distinguished of the Irish clergy have consented to administer this pledge as a reward to such as have strictly observed that of Temperance; fully believing, that in so doing, they would be

consulting the best interest of their people, *providid it was arranged that a Catholic pastor should always accompany each body of emigrants, unless the intended location already possessed a Catholic church and resident clergyman.*

Who shall doubt that those who have observed ONE PLEDGE TO FOREGO AN ENJOYMENT with such scrupulous exactitude, will not as religiously adhere to the other, with its evident advantages?

Little difficulty can attend the working of such a system where the wants, dispositions, and inclinations of their flocks are so well known to their pastor, as is the case in Ireland. He has been constantly habituated to watch over those committed to his care, with the most patient and unremitting attention; to minister to their necessities; arrange their differences; and in the hour of affliction, sickness and death, to be the bearer of that consolation which comes only from Him who said—"I know my sheep, and my sheep know me." A pledge made to him will be as surely kept in the distant land, as if it were only to be observed at home. Self-interest alone (setting aside the ties of conscience and gratitude) would secure the strict observance of the pledge required; for, as stated before, nature would *in no instance be forced*, and the principle of the Society would never be anxious to quit, by making choice of *such only* as accord with the foregoing description, *where little remains to be done but to take possession and enjoy.*"

The profitable results of this system to the Society would be very great, and it would bring increase of wealth and numberless advantages to the country of their adoption; and what is still more gratifying, would, whilst providing for the temporal wants of thousands, introduce religion and instruction into a country where both are sure to meet with the most liberal encouragement.

RELATION OF THIS ENTERPRISE TO ROMANISM.—The promotion of the interests of Romanism is guaranteed by the provisions of the plan:

It must be distinctly understood that no pledge would be given by the poorest Irish to locate in spots unprovided with chapels and clergy of their own religion, *and without which their labor would be unattainable*; therefore the requisite funds for the maintenance and education of priests, and the support of churches, must be provided out of the resources of the society. Without this arrangement the scheme would prove abortive, and it would be highly reprehensible and dishonest to administer the pledge.

Those who have watched the movements of the bee have seen the young swarm, on leaving the hives (alike the perfect emblem of industry and colonization) in which they were generated, moving from place to place in restless confusion till arrested by some cause not apparent, the mass of settlers clings to some distant bough, unprepared with, and unable to provide, a new home. The cottager, with anxious care to secure the services of these industrious laborers—perhaps the main support of his family—has prepared a new habitation for them; but old experience has taught him that without securing the centre of attraction, (the roaming queen,) his efforts to retain her followers must be in vain.

When she is placed in the new dwelling, then, *and not till then*, does the young colony settle in a state of tranquility, and betake itself cheerfully to its useful labors, creating a fresh store of wealth, while the parent hive, to all appearance, has suffered no diminution of its strength and powers of production.

“The religion of his forefathers and his parish priest are the Irishman’s centre of attraction, and his queen bee. The cottager’s success is in increasing the number of his hives, and thus his wealth depends on their possession. In like manner you may locate the Irish; you may pledge them to temperance, to residence on a fixed spot, to give their labor at a fixed price, and entirely carry out the Society’s plan; but if you expect these pledges to be rigidly and strictly adhered to, you must provide them with a place of worship and a pastor, you must afford them the peaceful and uninterrupted enjoyment of the practices of religion, according to their ancient creed. Without resident pastors they cannot be retained to give that labor, on a fixed location, which would otherwise be so cheerfully bestowed”—pp. 14, 15.

There is a small share of philosophy in the project to propagate Romanism by means of the *Catholic poor*. The result in Glasgow illustrates the process.

The Irishman’s first care was then, what it is now and ever will be, to devote what little surplus remained after the frugal wants of nature were satisfied, voluntarily to aid in the support of his pastor, and to assist him in the construction of a temple dedicated to the worship of the God who had thus conferred on him means exceeding what his necessities required.—p. 16.

Glasgow has been adduced as an example of this position; for like most of the rising cities of America, it owes its advancement to an excellent commercial location and capital laid out on its design, in the construction of docks, wharfs, factories, and other necessary establishments of commerce. The demand for labor, in its various works and improvements, exceed the means of supply afforded even by Scotland, populous and industrious as she is allowed to be; and the employment of the *redundant* population of Ireland was absolutely necessary to complete those great operations, which could not have been otherwise accomplished.

The followers of John Knox had certainly no natural predilection for the religion of the Irish; but their labor was indispensable; and the scale of interest weighing down that of religious prejudice, enabled the enterprising inhabitants of Glasgow to reap the profits of their well arranged calculations. Wages beyond expenditure, and constant employment for a given period, were the necessary consequences.

The number has now increased to more than 80,000 in this city and its vicinity, and other Catholic churches and pastors have been, and still will be, the natural consequences.

Thus has heaven, in its own time, once more made the poor its instruments for again introducing into our large town and cities that religion which the first humble apostles were instructed to teach to all

nations and to all people, and, in this particular instance, restoring those altars to the original faith, the very memory of which the destructive spirit of puritanism in former days conceived it had obliterated forever.

We here see how the interests of commerce and the pursuit of wealth, passing through the filtration of Irish labor, have produced effects which the ignorant attribute alone to a rich priesthood and a wealthy aristocracy.

In like manner, to the peace of these poor Irish are mainly attributable the splendid Catholic churches which have risen up in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and our other great manufacturing cities, to the erection of the Catholic cathedral in Moorsfield, and the progress now making in rearing the magnificent church in the Borough, (notwithstanding the awful distress at present so severely pressing on the poor) is greatly attributable to the same causes.—pp. 16, 17.

VARIOUS ARGUMENTS FOR THE PLAN.—PROFITABLENESS AND SAFETY OF INVESTMENTS.—It has been already stated that, by the leading principles governing the investments of this Society, it will, in no instance, whether in our own colonies, or in the United States, purchase larger tracts of land in any one district than its financial resources can bring into the first stages of cultivation, nor will it invite over emigrants, until employment and a home await their arrival.

By this method it will not only return quick profits, but also avoid the jealousy, naturally to be expected in a foreign country, if any attempt to monopolize large tracts of land.

It is therefore proposed to effect sales at periods probably never exceeding three years from the date of the original purchase, or, in fine, when the advancement made in improvement may warrant a handsome profit, merely retaining within each township the land on which the temporary Catholic church shall have been erected, the house of its minister, the school-house and such a quantity of glebe land as the Society may hereafter determine.—p. 26.

This scheme is also to help our insolvent States to pay their debts, and complete their public works? The reader will notice the provision for the priesthood.

In the United States, at this period, no system hitherto devised could produce so rapid and systematic a revival of national wealth, or more effectually *enable each State to acquit those debts*, which the vast resources of their country warranted them in contracting, in anticipation of large annual returns from railways, canals, and great public works, *now left incomplete and profitless, solely for the want of more capital.*

After paying to the proprietors a dividend of eight per cent., it is proposed that the Society should not contemplate making any greater division of profits, but that it should re-invest all its surplus in further augmentation of capital. By these means a constant increase of land will be always advancing in a state of improvement, and, besides, adding to the wealth of the Society, be an equal efficient assistance in exporting pauperism from the Parent State.

The success of this Institution is, (as already explained) from its very nature, mainly dependent on the supply of missionaries, to keep pace with its advancement, and therefore a portion of the proceeds of every re-sale will be set aside as a fund for their education, and another part will also be allotted to support charitable endowments and the education of the poor. The dividend to the proprietors to the extent of eight per cent.,) always to take precedence of any other division of profits.—p. 26.”

[From the Philadelphia Journal of 1842.]

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, of the Roman Catholic Church, in New York, has issued a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese, interdicting certain things which appear to have been tolerated in the church for a season, in this land of the “largest liberty ;” such as marriage with protestants, membership in Odd Fellows Lodges, and other like associations, &c. As this document may be regarded as novel and extraordinary in this country, we subjoin the following extract :

“The circumstances of the Catholic Church in this happy country, in which the rights of conscience and the immunities of religious freedom are secured to all men, have been extensively modified and influenced by the persecutions which she had to undergo in other lands. The usages which prevailed in the lands of bondage were the first to which we became accustomed where bondage is unknown. Neither was it practicable nor expedient to enforce prematurely the laws of the church in these new circumstances of this country. Hence the Bishops of this diocese have tolerated customs which the church did not approve, but merely bore with until a better order could be introduced. That time seems at length to have arrived. The statutes, which have been enacted and promulgated, have for their object this return to the ordinary and regular discipline of the Church. Some have reference to the administration of the sacraments. It has been customary to administer the sacrament of baptism in private houses. Henceforth it will not be lawful for the clergyman so to administer it, wherever there is a church within the distance of three miles, except when the infant may be in danger of death ; and then, though it will be proper to send for the clergyman, yet in case he could not be found, the faithful should understand the manner of baptizing, and should administer the sacrament, rather than leave the child to die without receiving baptism.

“We have adopted the laws that have been enjoined by the Provincial Councils of Baltimore, with the approbation of the Holy See, on the subject of mixed marriages ; that is, marriages between Catholics and persons of other religious persuasions. These marriages, though tolerated under certain modifications, have ever been looked upon with regret and affliction by our Holy Mother the Church. The condition, without which they have never been permitted in this country or elsewhere is, that the party not Catholic should be pledged by solemn promise to allow entire liberty of conscience, and right to the practice of religion, to the Catholic party ; and that all the offspring of such marriages should be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith.—

Without this condition, such marriages are not only disproved, but condemned and reprobated by the Church.

“Another subject to which our attention has been directed, is the existence and evils of certain societies, constituted on principles not recognized by the Church. They are generally designated as “secret societies ;” and have for the most part some professed object of benevolence, which is used as an inducement to engage new members, and to recommend such associations to public favor.

“We have directed, in obedience to the laws of our holy religion, and the duties of our office, that no clergyman in this diocese shall admit to any sacrament of the Church such persons, as forgetting their fidelity to her, involve themselves in the dangerous and sinful associations already alluded to ; or in any other secret society or combination, held together by any solemn religious obligation, whether it be in form of an oath or otherwise of similar import. Neither shall it be lawful for any clergyman in this diocese to officiate at the funeral, or over the remains of any one dying without having renounced all connection with such society, if it had been his misfortune to have been so involved.— This statute shall be rigidly adhered to ; and any clergyman who shall have overlooked, disregarded or neglected to enforce it shall not be considered worthy to exercise the ministry.

“One of the most perplexing questions connected with the well-being of religion, is the tenure and administration of ecclesiastical property.— A system growing, perhaps out of the circumstances of the times, has prevailed in this country, which is without a parallel in any other nation, or in the whole history of the Catholic Church.— That system is of leaving ecclesiastical property under the management of laymen, who are commonly designated ‘trustees.’ We do not disguise that our conviction of the system is, that it is altogether injurious to religion, and not less injurious to the piety and religious character of those who, from time to time, are called upon to execute its offices. We have known many trustees, and we have never known one to retire from the office a better Catholic, or a more pious man than he was when he entered on it. But on the contrary, we have known many, who on retiring from that office, were found to have lost, not only much of their religious feeling, but also much of their faith ; from whom their families have derived, perhaps, the first impulse in that direction, which so many have taken, of alienation from the Church, and attachment to some of the sectarian doctrines by which they were surrounded.

“How awfully low is the character of religion reduced in the very necessity which obliges, as is supposed, trustees to deliberate on the best means to draw large congregations ; and this, be it understood, not for the salvation of the souls of the people, so much as for the revenue ! Hence, in the appointment of clergymen as pastors, it has oftentimes happened that the only merit which was valued by these men, was that of eloquence. Piety, learning, zeal, a laborious industry in administering the sacraments, were all good—but, in connection with the necessities of revenue, were deemed of comparatively little importance,

if the clergyman was not, at the same time, what was called a good preacher—who would cause the pews to be rented and the aisles to be filled with people. We need not enlarge on the injuries to the true spirit of the priesthood, and to the religious feelings of the faithful, which must ever result from association with such councils and such practices. Neither was this all. We have had the influence of music in the choirs, and that even by persons whose presence in the church at all could afford no edification, calculated upon with almost equal emphasis as the talents of the pastor.

“The peculiar circumstances under which the congregations have been formed, were such as rendered it apparently expedient to leave these matters generally to the discretion of the congregations themselves. The time, however, has arrived, when modifications are required, not only for the order and decorum of ecclesiastical relations, but also by the general demand of the people themselves. We have, therefore, directed and ordained, by the statutes of the diocese, that henceforward, no body of lay trustees, or lay persons, by whatever name called, shall be permitted to appoint, retain or dismiss any person connected with the Church—such as sexton, organist, singers, teachers, or other persons employed in connection with religion or public worship, against the will of the pastor, subject to the ultimate decision of the ordinary.

“We have ordained, likewise, that the expenses necessary for the maintenance of the pastors, and the support of religion, shall, in no case be withheld or denied, if the congregation are able to afford them. It shall not be lawful for any board of trustees, or other lay persons, to make use of the church, chapel, basement, or other portions of ground, or edifices consecrated to religion, for any meeting, having a secular, or even an ecclesiastical object, without the approval, previously had, of the pastor, who shall be accountable to the Bishop for his decision.—And, with a view to arrest the evil of the trustee system in expending inconsiderately, or otherwise, the property of the faithful, it has been ordained as a statute of the diocese, that no board of trustees shall be at liberty to vote, expend or appropriate for contracts, or under any pretext, any portion of the property which they are appointed to administer, (except the current expenses above alluded to,) without the express approval and approbation of the pastor, in every case. And it is farther ordained, that even thus, the trustees of the churches, with the approbation of the pastor, shall not be at liberty to expend an amount larger than the sum of one hundred dollars in any one year, without the consent of the Bishop approving or permitting such expenditure.

“One of the most explicit decrees of the Provincial Council in Baltimore directed and enjoined on the Bishops of this province, that they should not, thenceforward, consecrate any church therein, unless the deed had been previously made, in trust, to the Bishop thereof. This rule has hitherto been followed, the faithful are exempt from many of the evils to which we have already referred. ‘Religion progresses’—the clergy are freed from annoyances—their ministry is respected—their influence with the people obtains large and numerous contributions, for the erection or improvement of churches, and the danger of seeing those

sold for debt and given over to profanation, is alike removed from the apprehensions of pastor and people.

“ We may be assured, that if we would have the Church of God to spread among us—if we would have our venerated clergy enshrined in the holiness of their office, and in the affection of their flocks—if we would have piety and charity and peace to flourish among us; it is not by imitating the loftiest efforts of human wisdom displayed in the ecclesiastical policy of modern sects, but by endeavoring to tread as nearly as possible in the paths trodden by our ancestors in faith, according to the prescriptions of that Church to which the Holy Spirit was promised for guidance, and from which the veracity of that promise is a pledge that will never depart.”

[From the Western Christian Advocate.]

“ NEW YORK AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—Our readers are aware, that the school question in New York has already created considerable excitement. The Roman Catholics contend that they ought to have a portion of the School Funds to apply to their own sectarian schools. A large body of citizens contend that the schools are *common* to all, and that all shall have *equal rights* to their immunities, and that they shall never be the means of promoting sectarian views.—The question became so serious, that Bishop Hughes applied to the Pope, as we have been informed, in order to have a decision from Rome on this topic. The answer received was, the Roman Catholics ought to maintain their peculiar views, and contend for the sectarian character of their schools, and that it would be dangerous to send Roman children to schools, under Protestant patronage, or state schools, not under the special care of the popish clergy. In pursuance of this decision from Rome, the Romanists of New York have made the matter a political question, and Bishop Hughes has become a political agitator in this business, and has enlisted the members of his Church in the conflict. It is well known, that the Romanists, as a body, with few exceptions, take one side in politics; and there is little doubt but their political preference is decided at Rome, and comes from the eternal city through the bishops, priests, and other officers of the papal See, to the members of their Church in this country. During the last twelve or fourteen years, as a body, the Romanists have gone to the side of the Democrats, as they are called. Still the Whigs have courted their votes most effectually all the while, in their public prints and otherwise. The Romans, however, will always go with that side which, in their estimation, will best answer their own purposes, whether Whig or Democrat, it matters not with them. Indeed, as *Roman Catholics*, they are a political body which is always bound to be on the side of the advancement of their Church, though at the expense of others. The Protestant principle is to *support the powers that be*, whether Protestant, Roman, or any thing else.—But the Roman standard is the support of the Church of Rome in its privileges at the expense and risk of every thing beside.

We quote below a long article in the New York Spectator, a Whig paper, which gives, as near as we can discover, the true state of the

question. The New York Post, a Democratic paper, accuses Bishop Hughes of taking part in politics in no very easy terms. Bishop Hughes affirms that he was not engaged as a politician at all in this business, when, a few days after, he published a card exculpating himself. He says that "He is neither a Whig or Locofoco, nor a politician of any description. He does not allow either himself or any of his clergy to meddle in the business of politics." Thus, Bishop Hughes undertakes to plead for the selection of candidates for the Legislature, in a public meeting of the citizens; and yet he denies that this is meddling in politics. By such means as these the public is frequently deceived.—But the recent developments of the true political character of Romanism will do something to show the public, that, unhappily there exists in their midst A GOVERNMENT WITHIN A GOVERNMENT, (*imperium in imperio*,) under foreign ecclesiastical and political control.

It is a great cause of regret indeed, that Romanists would not be content to enjoy in this country *equal rights* without attempting, peculiar exclusive honors. It is no wonder that *Native American Associations* should be formed, in order to check this *foreign interference*, or the unjust interference of foreign emigrants, to pervert the institutions of this happy Republic. Alas! that the bitter sectarian broils of Europe should be now introduced into this country to disturb its peace, and interpose with its prosperity! Who can wonder that there would be now an attempt to prevent the naturalization of foreigners by changing the laws on that subject, when we see these anti American associations formed in every place in the land, for *Irish repeal laws*, and the like? Is it marvelous that this Protestant land would feel jealous of her privileges, her laws her constitutions, when plans are obviously laid which tend towards their supervision?"

[From the New York Spectator.]

CHURCH AND STATE.—The first formal and decided movement towards a union of Church and State, connected with our election in the State of New York, was made last evening by our Roman Catholic fellow citizens, led on by their bishop and clergy in their proper persons. The meeting was held in Carroll Hall, and was attended by an immense concourse of our adopted citizens, owing their allegiance to the holy See. Mr. Gregory Dillon, was called to the chair by acclamation, and Mr. C. O'Connor appointed secretery. The object of the meeting was to make such changes in the nominations for the Senate and Assembly, made at Tammany Hall, as will insure an united representation in both branches of the Legislature from this city, in favor of BREAKING DOWN OUR PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM, and COMPELLING THE PROTESTANTS to support a number of ROMAN CATHOLIC SEMINARIES in the place of at least some of them.

Shortly after the meeting was organized, to quote the language of a morning paper, the editor of which is a Roman Catholic, "*Bishop Hughes and several of the Catholic priesthood mounted the platform, and were received with great applause.*" The right reverend gentleman arose to address the meeting, and having stated the object of its

convocation, he proceeded to canvass the ticket which would be presented to the meeting. Having discharged this part of the duty he had assumed, the right reverend gentleman, according to the report of the paper already referred to, (the Herald,) proceeded in the following strain :

"It is impossible for me to say any thing personally of those whose names have been recommended to be placed on the list of candidates, and I would not for one moment urge that they should be placed there, had I not been assured, on the most positive evidence, and which I could not doubt, that they are friendly to an alteration in the present system of public education. I know that some of them, it is said, are opposed to us. But again, on the other hand, I have been assured by gentlemen who spoke from their own personal knowledge, some speaking for one candidate and some for another—that by public and recorded acts or authorised declarations, all of them, aye, all of them, can be depended on as determined, should they by your votes be elected to the position in which they can decide on this question, to support the justice of our claims. (Tremendous applause.) If, however, it should happen that any discover that we are mistaken in them, and if, after taking him for a friend, according to all assurances we have to the contrary received, we find him an opponent of our measures, then he has the easy remedy—he can write to the papers, and say, we used his name without authority. (Cheers.)

If any of the gentlemen named take this course, we can supply his place. And I conceive that we shall be bound in honor to do so; if we have been mistaken in him he is bound to declare it, and not perpetuate the deception. (Cheers.) Before I call upon the secretary to read the ticket, I will simply say, gentlemen, that the decision of this night on it is to be final, and without any expression of individual opinion as to the merits or demerits of those names will be read. As I have already remarked, I am not acquainted with any of these gentlemen; but they have been selected by gentlemen as much interested in this question as I am; and now gentlemen, if you are unanimously determined to convince the community that you are sincere, and really in earnest—that you sincerely feel that there is a *bona fide* grievance of which you complain, and wish redress, you will support the candidates thus offered for your choice, because if you do not, you have no alternative left but that of voting for the declared enemies of your rights. I will now request the secretary to read the names placed on the ticket; of that ticket I have approved. It presents the names of the only friends they could find already before the public, and whom, not being so permanently before the public, we have found for ourselves.

The secretary then read the following :

FOR SENATORS,

Thomas O'Conner,

J. G. Gotzberger.

FOR MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY,

Tighe Davy, Sol. Townsend, John L. O'Sullivan, *Michael Walsh*, *Timothy Daly*, Paul Grout, David R. Floyd Jones, William M'Murray, Auguste Davezac, Conrad Swackhamer, William B. M'Clay, Daniel C. Pentz, George G. Glazier, George Weir "

"The senatorial nomination, it will be seen, is entirely different from that presented from Tammany Hall. On the assembly ticket only three new names were presented—those three which we have designated by *italics*. All the other candidates upon that ticket, it will be seen, are considered by the representatives of his holiness, the Pope, as PERFECTLY ORTHODOX, according to the views entertained at Rome, on the school question. Having thus presented the nominations,—“every name of which,” as we are informed by infallible authority, “was received with the most uproarous applause, and three terrific cheers given at the close,” the bishop proceeded to

“Beat the drum ecclesiastic”

in the following strain, and we beg of every Protestant to read the report with attention :

“You have now, gentlemen, heard the names of men who are willing to risk themselves in support of your cause. Put these names out of view, and you cannot, in the records of our political controversies, find that of one solitary public man who is not understood to be pledged against us. What then is your course? You now, for the first time, find yourselves, in the position to vote at least for yourselves. You have often voted for others, and they did not vote for you, but now you are determined to uphold with your own rights. (Thunders of applause, which lasted several minutes.) Will you then stand by the rights of your offsprings, who have so long a period, and from generation to generation, suffered under the operation of this injurious system? (Renewed cheering.) Will you adhere to the nomination made? (Tremendous cheering—the whole immense assembly rising *en masse*, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of applause.)

“Will you let all men see that you are worthy sons of the nation to which you belong? (Cries of ‘never fear—will!’ ‘We will till death!’ and terrific cheering.) Will you prove yourselves worthy of friends? (Tremendous cheering.) Will none of you flinch? (The scene that followed this emphatic query is indiscribable and outheroed all the enthusiastic and absolutely frenzied displays of passionate feeling we have ever witnessed at Irish meetings. The cheering—the shouting—the stamping of feet; waving of hats, handkerchiefs, shillelahs beggared all description.) Very well, then the ticket will be prepared and distributed amongst you, and on the day of election go like freemen with dignity and calmness, entertaining due respect for your fellow citizens and their opinions, and deposite your votes. And if you do not elect any of our friends, you will at least record your votes in favor of justice, and in favor of your principles, which must not be abandoned and you will be guiltless of sin, and shame, and degradation of electing men who are pledged to trample on you if they can! (Great cheering.)

“I care not for party men—their professions—their cliques—and all that. Bring them to the test, and you find great promise—lean performances. It is time that you should convince them, that you, the interested parties in this great question—you the denizens of a nation

proverbially faithful to every engagement—you will convince them at least perhaps for the first time, that you are not the pliant tools they mistake you to be! (Loud cheering.) You will have nothing to do with the men who go to the Senate and assembly, pledged to act against you? (Loud cries of 'no, no, no; that we won't!' and great cheering.) They may find votes enough to send them—(A voice 'no they shan't!')—let them go! But they will in that case, be obliged to confess that they were sent by your enemies—let them do the work of their masters! (Laughter and cheers.)

"I ask then, once for all—and with the answer let the meeting close—will this meeting pledge its honor, as the representation of that oppressed portion of our community, for whom I have so often pleaded, here as well as elsewhere—Will it pledge its honor that it will stand by these candidates whose names have been read, and that no man composing this vast audience will ever vote for any one pledged to oppose our just claims and incontrovertible rights? (Terrible cheering, and thunders of applause, which continued for several minutes, amid which Bishop Hughes resumed his seat.)"

Now, then, we call upon every Protestant of this country, to whatever sect or party he may belong, to ponder these proceedings. Especially do we call upon them to peruse and re-peruse the passage which we have marked in *italic* letters: "*I will simply say that the decision of this night IS TO BE FINAL!*" Mark that! True to its arrogant pretensions in the days of Hildebrand and Ignatius Loyola, when the Roman Church speaks there can be no appeal—"THE DECISION IS FINAL!"—and mark! it is added, "*without any expression of individual opinion of the merits or demerits of the names that will be read!*" Here, fellow citizens you have the decree. There is to be no "INDIVIDUAL OPINION." The Church has spoken, and let its votaries TREMBLE AND OBEY! Will the people of this Protestant country stand this? Will not every denomination opposed to "*mystery—babylon,*" arouse themselves to action on this occasion? We shall see."

[From the Western Christian Advocate.]

CHURCH AND STATE—COMMON SCHOOLS.—In the State of New York, the Romanists by employing the balance of power, have procured the passage of a law which will shortly destroy the excellent school system of the state, especially the schools in New York City. The Roman Catholics know very well that the general instruction of all the people, particularly if the Bible be introduced, will prove ultimately injurious to their Church. At present they cannot destroy the common schools; but their attempts are directed towards crippling their operations, so as finally to render them useless. In this and other matters, they have united with the Democratic party, as best suited to answer their purposes, and they have generally succeeded. The Whig party and press however have, for the most part, most woefully solicited their aid, though heretofore with little success. But the Jesuits, whose policy now govern the Roman Church, will be ready to change from side to side, as often, and as soon as necessary. Still,

from present appearances, they are likely to cling for many years to the side of the Democrats, and cajole the Whigs with promises, and occasional votes, to save appearances, in order to induce them to remain silent, as it regards bringing formally by name the members of the Church of Rome into the contest.

The New York Spectator, however, that a few years since took no doubtful part in favor of Romanists, in regard to nuns and nunneries, speaks out very plainly concerning his Roman neighbors. The school question is now a political one in the city of New York, with the Romanists claiming the aid of the Democrats, and the Whigs asking the help of Protestants. The Romanists have commenced this sectarian course; and the time is not likely far distant when the political parties will be, not Democratic and Whig, but *Popish* and *Protestant*. The Protestants have not done this; but the Romanists are the aggressors.—These latter will also continue to do so until they are completely foiled by Protestant votes. We deplore these sectarian politics. As a specimen we give the following extract from the New York Spectator, which will serve as a sample of the unpleasant and anarchial state of things into which we are about to enter. The different Protestant Churches have lived, and we believe, would live harmoniously together, as fellow-citizens and fellow Christians; and it is distressing that the peace of this great Protestant country—made what it is by unaided Protestantism—should be thrown into anarchy by the congregation in this country of the low Irish and German Romanists, who are completely under the control of their priests. The priests are controlled by the bishops, and these by the popes; so that what is decided on at Rome is carried out into effect, through the confessional, among all the Romanists of the United States. But to the extract:—

JOHN H. WILLIAMS.—This gentleman is nominated as the Whig candidate for Congress in the 4th Congressional district, in opposition to William B. Maclay, the Bishop's candidate. We say emphatically the Bishop's candidate—for we assert it fearlessly—and we challenge the friends of Mr. Maclay to contradict our assertion if they can, that he was nominated, not because he was the man most approved by his party, but because he had subserved the views of Bishop Hughes, in his opposition to the Public School Society. He was put in nomination by the Roman Catholics as a reward for his services, to that body of Christians. William B. Maclay, the son of a Baptist minister, is to be rewarded with a seat in the Congress of the United States for betraying the Protestant cause, and the cause of common school education, and the Roman Catholic population of his district expect that American Protestants will assist them in bestowing that reward.

We hope they will be disappointed, and we call first upon the Baptists, and there are no sounder Protestants, we call upon the Methodists, whose zeal and piety are known of all men, we call upon the Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and the Episcopalians, to withhold the reward; let not, we beseech you, the thirty pieces of silver be paid, although the traitor may think he has earned them. Without the co-operation of Protestants, this man cannot be elected. This is no mere party question,

or rather it is the mingling of a new ingredient in party politics—a political party is called upon to pay a reward promised by the head of a religious denomination. Will the Democrats of the 4th district sanction this new principle? Unused as we are to do so, we appeal to our political opponents on this subject; we ask them to keep asunder, in all political movements wide as the poles, Church and State. And where, too, are the parents who send their children to those excellent institutions, the public schools, the very jewels of our city? Under the present law, the passage of which was greatly aided by the exertions of William B. Maclay, these schools cannot exist another year. We assert this with certain knowledge of what we say; UNLESS THE LAW IS REPEALED OR AMENDED THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS CANNOT EXIST ANOTHER YEAR.

[From the Philadelphia Christian Observer of 1843.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERFERENCE WITH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA.—The ecclesiastics of the church of Rome have commenced their operations to revolutionize the public schools of our city and county. At a late meeting of the Board of Controllors, a letter was received from a Roman Catholic priest, who assumes the title of *bishop of Philadelphia*, thus extending his authority over all our good citizens, in which he prefers three complaints against the Public Schools; 1st, that the teachers cause the Bible to be read in the Schools; 2d, that a hymn is sung, or prayer made in opening or closing the School; 3d, that some of the books used in the schools contain misrepresentations of the Roman Catholic tenets. The subject of these complaints was referred to a committee, which at a meeting held on the 10th inst., reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That no children be required to attend or unite in the reading of the Bible in the public schools, whose parents are conscientiously opposed thereto.

Resolved, That those children whose parents conscientiously prefer and desire any particular version of the Bible, without note or comment, be furnished with the same.

The first resolution was adopted by the Board without a division. Mr. Hollingsworth then moved that the second be indefinitely postponed, which was lost—and the resolution was adopted: Ayes 12—Nays 7.

By this vote, the majority of the Board have yielded to the dictation of a foreign priest, the subject of a foreign despot, in the very point where the public have a right to demand that their servants should be *firm and unyielding*. We would deprive Roman Catholics of no right, or privilege, secured to our citizens. If they have, or *profess* to have any scruples against the use of our version of the Scriptures, it is proper that their scruples should be respected. We would not see their children *compelled* to read the Bible in opposition to the will of their parents.—But here the matter should stop. The Board were not authorized by public sentiment in our city, to change or modify the *plan or rules* of the Schools to meet the wishes of some persons who have sworn allegi-

ance to a foreign power. On this point, above all others, it became them to be firm. For it is in this way, by intermeddling with our institutions little by little, that Romanists aim to subvert them. In other countries, they openly avow this to be their design and purpose.

Here, then, American citizens should maintain a sleepless vigilance, and resist the first advances of foreigners to modify and change our institutions, thus preparing the way to make them the auxiliaries of the pope. And could the great majority of our citizens be heard on this subject, they would, no doubt, condemn the proceeding of the majority of the Board. They would say, give to Roman Catholics perfect liberty of conscience, and all their rights as citizens, but never permit them to intermeddle and change the character of our laws and institutions, and thus pave the way for their overthrow.

[From the Christian Observer of 1843.]

THE BURNING OF BIBLES!—Several weeks since we published an extract of a letter from Champlain, N. Y., (a township on the borders of Lower Canada,) giving an account of the *burning of a collection of Bibles* by order of the Romish Priests. When the notice of this outrage first appeared, it was contradicted by the Romanists. This led to investigation. A Committee was appointed, consisting of the pastors of the Congregational and Methodist churches, a clergyman who has charge of the Academy in Champlain, and the Postmaster, who have reported the facts of the case. The Romanists, seeing that they are convicted of the outrage, and that their denial cannot shield them from the merited indignation of the public, now come forward in the person of Mr. Hughes, a bishop of the Romanists of New York, and protest against the proceeding.

“I protest against the burning of Bibles in my own name, (says Mr. Hughes,) and in the name of the Catholic clergy, and Catholic laity of the diocese of New York. I protest against it, in order that the parties immediately concerned in it, shall alone be held responsible.”

Is there any sincerity in this protest? Can it be *credited* by those who are acquainted with the policy of Romish Priests? Is it not rather a mere device to shield themselves from public odium? We may have occasion to notice this proceeding again.

[From the Christian Advocate of 1841.]

EXCLUSIVENESS OF THE ROMANISTS.—Many Protestants have fondly, though charitably, entertained the opinion, that Romanists in this country were more liberal in their opinions and feelings toward other Christian denominations than they were wont to be in Europe. The latitude allowed to their priesthood, and under their superintendence, to the laity, to accommodate themselves to the prevailing sentiments, tastes, and even the prejudices of the community in which they live, provided it is done with a view to the interests of the Church, has been used to the utmost limits among us; and thousands have been duped by the word “charity,” which they are never weary of repeating

when they are soliciting Protestant aid, in building churches, and establishing colleges. Yet in these churches a Protestant could not be allowed to remain during the performance of certain superstitious rites, without partaking in the idolatry prescribed in the service—Romanists would no more permit a Protestant to be interred in one of these burial places than a dog; and in their colleges every thing is under the exclusive and absolute control of some one of their monastic and religious orders.

Perhaps there are few communities in this, or any other country, more generally imbued with a reverence for religion, and for the ministers of religion, than the people of Baltimore; and accordingly the convention of temperance delegates determined that it was a duty to invite these ministers to invoke the blessing of God on the enterprise in which they were engaged.

In conformity with this pious resolution, deputations from the convention waited on the Rev. Dr. Morris, of the Lutheran Church, and the Rev. Mr. Sargeant, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and invited them to offer prayers, at the opening of the ceremonies. These gentlemen readily consented, and it was so announced in the programme.

But an orator was to be chosen; and with a liberality which does the convention high honor, they selected him from the Romanist communion. The Catholic Temperance Society is a small body, compared with the Protestant masses which were to compose the procession, and it was generous to accord them the honor of furnishing the orator. The convention, therefore, tendered this high honor to William George Reed, Esq., a bigoted Romanist, and a proselyte from Protestantism.

Nothing could be more demonstrative of the unbounded liberality of the convention, than the selection of Mr. Reed. He is personally among the most unpopular men in Baltimore, and owes whatever consideration he enjoys, solely to his connection with one of the most respectable and worthy Protestant families in the State. It was chiefly to his intrigues and management that the disgraceful and disastrous proceedings of the mob of 1834 were allowed to be consummated, and Baltimore not only humbled and mortified in the sight of her sister communities but subjected to a heavy and grievous taxation to reimburse the sufferers. Yet, as the Romanists had no better orator to offer, the Protestant temperance societies agreed to tender the honor to Mr. Reed; and he accepted an offer which would have been considered a proud distinction by the most eminent man in the city.

Four days before the one announced for the celebration, the following letter was received from Mr. Reed:—

BALTIMORE, MARCH 31, 1841.

MR. JAMES DUNN.

Dear Sir,—When you communicated to me, on Monday last, the very flattering request of the committee of arrangements, for the temperance celebration of the 5th of April, that I would officiate as the orator

of the day, I was under the impression originally received by the committee of the Maryland Catholic Temperance Society, that there was to be no public religious ceremonial connected with it, and I, therefore, promptly expressed my gratification in accepting so distinguished an honor. To prevent all misconception, however, I accompanied you to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Schreibe, president of the Md. Catholic Temp. Society, and entered freely into an explanation of Catholic principles (which you perfectly understood) which would prevent our participating in any proceedings where a religious ministry which we do not recognize was to be employed. We separated with a distinct assurance from you that nothing would be done requiring any conscientious sacrifice on the part of the Catholics. It was therefore, with surprise that I read in the papers of this morning a programme announcing prayers by two Protestant clergymen. Under these circumstances I must decline the execution of a task to which I had looked forward with pride and pleasure; and make this communication, at the earliest moment, to enable the committee to make such arrangements as may become necessary in consequence of my resignation.

I have the honor to be with great respect, your obedient servant,
WILL. GEO. READ.

The Protestants of this country will now perceive pretty clearly what they are to expect, if the Romanists should get possession of their public schools. Our children are to be taught to look upon our most venerated pastors, and teachers of religion, as intruders into the sacred office, and wholly unauthorized to discharge the duties of their holy functions — nay, that is heresy even to listen to their most fervent supplications and prayers. Protestant parents will learn by Mr. Read's letter what their sons and daughters are taught in the colleges and schools of the Romanists, which they so liberally patronize. Whatever they may have heretofore understood to be the import of that "charity" which Romanists always proclaim, when they seek Protestant patronage, they will now, with the aid of Mr. Read's commentary, perceive very clearly that it really means the most absolute and uncompromising exclusiveness.

Let it not be said that it is unfair to attribute Mr. Read's bigotry to the Romanists. Mr. Read took his measures under the direction of Archbishop Eccleston himself, aided by the very priest who is the president of the "Catholic" temperance society. And the society, together with the "Catholic" temperance societies of the "District," did not join in the celebration.

DOCTOR BEECHER'S LETTER.—We respectfully call attention here, to the eloquent appeal for the West, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Beecher, a distinguished and aged Presbyterian Clergyman, urging the union of the East and West, in efforts to save our country from the prevalence of papal and other destructive errors. We concur in *all* the apprehensions of the Doctor, in respect to the increase of Popery—and especially do we concur in his views of the necessity and importance of union among the different sects, in opposition to Romanism.

But it is not enough to save our country from the dominion of Rome—our churches should unite in putting down designing politicians, who favor the vile schemes of papists:

[From the Philadelphia Christian Observer of 1843.]

IMPORTANT APPEAL FOR THE WEST.—[The following letter from the Rev. Dr. BEECHER to the Rev. Mr. BARNES, presents facts and considerations of great moment, which deserve the earnest attention of our Eastern churches. Though addressed to Mr. B., the letter was intended for the consideration of many other friends of the West.—ED. CHR. OBS.]

MY DEAR BROTHER BARNES,—The time has come in which we must unite our counsels and our forces for the West, or all we have done will be impotent to exert the controlling influence of Christian science, cultivation, and holiness over the infinitude of ignorant, depraved, and perverted mind here bursting forth and rolling in from abroad upon us like a flood. When I came here there was a deep solicitude at the East for the intellectual culture and civil and religious destiny of the West. It was this feeling which aided in the endowment of Lane Seminary, and founded several literary institutions, and sent out ministers, and men, and women, to sustain schools, academies, and colleges, such as Marietta, Hudson, Jacksonville, and Crawfordsville, besides a number of noble female schools; and they have answered, and are answering, more than would have been anticipated in so short a time. Connected with these efforts a powerful advocacy has been given to common schools, which, I trust, will not cease to be felt in public sentiment and legislation. The cause of the Bible as a class book in common schools, has been vindicated and carried in spite of Roman Catholic and infidel influences. The missionary spirit also is awake and active in all the forms of voluntary association in operation at the East, and in advance of what they were ten years from their origin, and until reverses in business they were powerful, and yearly augmenting the stream of charity.

PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH—LANE SEMINARY—NEW EVILS THREATENED.—Revivals of religion also have kept pace with these fruits of Christian munificence. Our ministry and our churches are united, and cordial, and evangelical in counsel and doctrine, and our seminary, more than ever before, has the confidence and patronage of our churches in young men and the charitable aid of beneficiaries; and our prospects of increase are favorable. Indeed, so great is our prosperity compared with the state of things when our institution was founded, that one might lift up his hands and exclaim, "*What hath God wrought!*" The intervention of pecuniary embarrassments has so impaired the resources of our western institutions, that without more aid our colleges, and Lane herself, must be embarrassed, and some probably fail when their necessity is every hour becoming more imperious and unspeakably great.

But while the efforts made the last ten years for us, would have been with our growing strength more than sufficient to meet the exigency, a

flood of new evils has come upon us more alarming than those which roused the fears and called forth the efforts of the Eastern churches ten years ago—evils, which, unaided by our Eastern friends, it is certain our churches cannot avert, and which, unobstructed, will sweep away foundations and prostrate civil and religious liberty. These dangers result in part from the character of our population, Sagacious, shrewd, thinking, talking, independent, fearless, and self-confident, demanding as sagacious, learned, and powerful a ministry as any population on the globe, and ensuring the defeat of any thing below mediocrity in the ministry. They result in part also from our success in awakening the conscience and religious susceptibilities of the community without a sufficiency of discreet guidance. This renders flagrant infidelity unpopular, and gives a flippant Mormon, Universalist, Campbellite, and Roman Catholic deceivers an easy ascendancy over unindoctrinated and unstable minds. It desires only to be quieted under some form of nominal Christianity which least demands spirituality, self-denial, and good works.

THE SCHEME AND ZEAL OF ROMANISTS.—But the Roman Catholic religion is assuming just now a more formidable aspect than all other causes. There can be no doubt of a settled conspiracy of the civil and ecclesiastical Roman Catholic despotisms of Europe to destroy our republican institutions, and subject us ultimately to Romish domination. The declaration of the Duke of Richmond, in the presence of Mr. H. G. Gates, at a dinner party in Montreal, “that our government is weak, inconsistent, and bad”—“will be destroyed”—“ought not and will not be permitted to exist”—that the curse of the French Revolution and the subsequent wars and commotions of Europe, are to be attributed to its example”—“that so long as it exists no prince will be safe on his throne”—“that the sovereigns of Europe, aware of it, have determined upon its destruction”—“have come to an understanding on the subject, and have decided on the means to accomplish it, and that they will succeed by subversion rather than by conquest”—“that for this purpose all the low and surplus population of Europe will be carried into our country, to be made a receptacle of all the bad and disaffected population of Europe, (the fanaticism and filth and off-scouring,) that this will create a surplus and a majority of low population, easily excited, bringing their principles with them, still adherents to their former governments, laws, manners, customs, and religion—will become citizens, invested with the right of suffrage. Then the different grades of society will be crept by the elevation of a few and the degradation of the many, and hence envy among a heterogeneous population of different languages, religion, and public sentiments—hence discord, dissension, anarchy, and civil war will ensue, and some popular individual will assume the government, and the sovereigns of Europe, and the emigrants, and many of the natives, will sustain him”—“that the Church of Rome has a design upon that country, and will in time be the established religion, and will aid in the destruction of the republic.”

These declarations, made ten or twelve years ago, contain a chart, which, every year since, has been filling up with a notoriety and accu-

racy as great as if they had been sending over soldiers, and officers, and munitions, and building forts, and organizing and drilling armies for our subjugation by force. The evidence of the army among us under Roman Catholic command, as sent over, and now organizing for the subversion of our liberty, is a matter of fact, if it had not been predicted. Their plan is by richly endowed and splendid churches, and paintings, and music, to provide the cap-tandum for persons without religion, of imagination, and taste. In their schools, to surpass us in cheapness government, and a thorough education, and by resources from Europe, and taxation, and their own people, day-laborers, and persons of wealth, they command a revenue which places within their reach whatever ambition may desire. By these ample resources, profiting by the wreck of property around them, they are making in our cities and country, far and wide, profitable investments in land, and building and rearing cathedrals, and colleges, and churches, and schools, demanded by no present population, but prepared, no doubt, to receive, in the fulness of times, the destined emigrant multitude. They build also for duration—to stand, as they say, when Protestant wooden churches and school houses are “rotten down.” Thus they are seizing the commanding positions, and fortifying their posts throughout this valley with reference to the battle which shall decide whether Roman Catholic or Protestant influence shall predominate.

ROMANISTS IN CINCINNATI.—In Cincinnati, the Roman Catholics have more than doubled, I presume, in six years, and their schools, and churches, and lands, secured in that time, surpass the investments of all the Protestant denominations in that period. They make assiduous efforts to prejudice their people against the Protestants, to shut out, by the power of caste, the access of evangelical influence. You can have little conception of the silent manner in which Irish and German Roman Catholics have swarmed in among us the last few years, as merchants, mechanics, and day-laborers, underselling Americans, and robbing the poor negroes, as some suppose; to drive them out and take their places. At the same time, they are enrolled and equipped in military companies, able, in times of tumult and violence, to exert their power as policy and the higher powers will indicate. I say not these things rhetorically, for effect, but without declamation, in sober sadness. I say if the East and the West are not roused to immediate and united action, there is no visible power to prevent, at no distant day, the predominance of a Roman Catholic influence at the West, which shall controul the destinies of our country. This Roman Catholic influence, direct and alone, might suffice to induce us to gird up our loins—to prepare for the conflict. But they rest their hopes as much on dividing us, as they do on the force of the concentrated energies of their own assault. Their plan is, as developed in New York, and justified here, to make themselves the political balance power at the polls, and by giving their votes to those who will favor their demands, to unsettle and destroy the common schools and literary institutions of the nation connected with legislation, and build up their own amid their ruins.

And when I consider the recklessness of party spirit, the madness of ambition, and the desperation of unprincipled men, without patriotism,

honor, honesty, or shame, I see not why the Roman Catholics, as a balance power, may not corrupt, divide, and destroy us. But, in addition to political auxiliaries, we must anticipate that on their side will be enlisted the infidelity, irreligion, ignorance, and profligacy of the land. And when the wrath of party spirit, and of mad ambition, and of reckless vice, and envious ignorance, shall be united and wielded by Roman Catholic hatred to destroy the Protestant religion, and republican institutions, which are its offspring, then there will be persecution and blood. And when I perceive the contempt of constitution and laws in high places, and the violence of party spirit, and the envy of the poor towards the rich, inflamed by demagogues, and witness the frequent resorts to physical power, instead of law, and the duels, and assassinations, and robberies which load every page of our periodicals, I cannot but apprehend, if nothing be done to avert our doom, that the day of our destiny may be near, even at the door.

THE CO-OPERATION OF THE EAST INDISPENSIBLE.—Before God, my brother, there is, in my judgment, but one thing that can save us, and that is the renewed and augmented co-operation of the East with the West. Our churches, young and small, and many of them enfeebled by division, cannot provide the munitions for aggressive and defensive movement. There must be a silent, but universal and determined concert of action. You will not fail to observe with joy, that, though divided, we remain, from the Hudson onward to the last verge of civilization, the great body of legitimate Saxo-Puritane migrations with their descendants, whom God has called eminently to the founding of republican and literary institutions, of evangelical churches with the doctrines and discipline and preaching, associated with the revivals and missions, on the front line of the aggressive movements for the conversion of the world—how, if these two hands, Eastern and Western, are intelligently united in the full view of danger to meet the exigency—all is certain to go gloriously well, as it is to go disastrously evil, if we do not unite. What, then, do we want? We want *men*—*young men*—all that can possibly be raised at the West and enlisted at the East, and educated for the ministry—spending some portion of their time, if possible, with us, to secure, by the union of faith and sight, their zeal, and courage, and adaptation to the work. Our churches are coming up to this work nobly; but they *cannot*, *cannot* do it alone.

The Roman Catholics have laid plans prospective for centuries, to be steadily filled up by European population and funds; while all our plans are incomplete, and, for the most part, ephemeral. Nothing but regeneration can save the West, and that only by the preaching of the gospel by men of cultured mind and holy heart, and the Holy Ghost sent down from on high. And with such means, there is not another field on earth so vast as the West, and so favorable for the planting of churches, and the establishment of Christian civilization. We have not to learn new languages, or to conciliate the confidence of strangers. Of our own blood and religion, extensively are the millions needing and willing to receive our aid—and the results of our endeavors may be a mighty nation of vigorous evangelical churches. No human means can so certainly meet and repel this invasion of Roman Catholic Europe, as

a competent, evangelical ministry and revivals of religion. These speedily will throw all rivalry of evil into the distance, and render our salvation like the waves of the sea, and our glory like the unsetting sun.

DEMAND FOR MINISTERS.—Oh, my Brother! could the ministers and churches of the East see and feel the unutterable demand for ministers as I see and feel it, and the cheapness with which we could fit young men for the ministry by their aid, and the ease with which we could settle them; whatever they might think of the Education Society having fulfilled its destiny at the East, they would see that *never* was the call for its aid for the destitute millions here so imperious as *now*, and the consequences of neglect so certain and so dreadful. Therefore, the streams of ministerial emigration from the East must flow again—the prayers of Christians for the West must go up day and night—and the hand of benevolence must open wide. Though approaching the confines of three score and ten, my heart burns anew with the fire that glowed in it when I left New England and came here, and when I see what our Seminary has done and may do by Eastern and Western munificence to fill the West with a holy ministry, and revivals of religion, and millennial liberty. I exult in the sacrifices I have made, and the conflicts and sufferings I have gone through, and in the far-reaching providence of God, that hath lifted up a standard here where the enemy cometh in like a flood.

May God, my brother, guide your understanding, and fire your heart to act immediately and efficaciously in behalf of the West, to blow the trumpet around you, and rally the sacramental host for the onset that is coming on here. For, if we fail to hold our own in our own land, how shall we lead in the aggressive movements for the conversion of the world? I am on the field—the battle is begun. We give notice of it to our fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and children at the East, and call for help. Who is on the Lord's side? Who?

My dear brother, I have not written to you this long letter for your intellectual edification; but knowing the absorbing influence of interests which are near, and how apt objects out of sight are, in the bustle of our daily cares, to fall out of mind, I have just written to give these great interests of the West and the world their proportionate estimate, their vivid presence, and practical influence. I conversed with Brother Brainerd, (a few months since,) about concentrating your Education patronage on us, of which he thought favorably, and (in a recent letter) he informs me that you and the other brethren are disposed to do so.—The statistics of our condition, and the importance of our acting in close concert for the West, will be submitted to your consideration in a letter from Prof. Allen. We can increase the number of our students and churches indefinitely with our means. We can even swell the classes of your new college with Western beneficiaries; if your churches will take care of them, to fill up with them our Seminary and the West, and by our union and strength break down the Alleghanies and make them a plain. Give my most ardent love to all the brethren, and say to them that we have stood upon the defensive long enough; it is time to charge here in the West, which, if they will help us to do, God also

will help us, and make it a Waterloo defeat to his enemies, and a Waterloo victory to his saints.

I am, affectionately, your brother,

LYMAN BEECHER.

MR. VAN BUREN'S LETTER TO THE POPE.—We embrace this opportunity of laying before our numerous readers, the letter of Martin Van Buren to one of the subordinates of Rome, intended expressly for the eye of his holiness. This extraordinary letter refers to others—to a private correspondence, which had been carried on between the Pope and Mr Van Buren, and which to this day, has never been published, for reasons obvious to every reflecting mind, and no doubt satisfactory to the parties.

For the first time in the history of this government, we see a man seeking the highest office in the country, carrying his electioneering intrigues before the Pope of Rome, and writing him a most fulsome letter—calls him '*Holy Father*,' congratulates him on his accession to the *Tiara*—gives him to understand that he is his devoted friend—that his church finds favor in these United States—and that the dogmas of his church will be tolerated to the fullest extent in this country! Oh! my country, art thou fallen so low, and art thou so debased, that thy Chief Magistrate, will supplicate a foreign tyrant, for the sole purpose of obtaining the votes of his minions within thy borders? And will our people any longer support this cringing sycophant? Do they not see the object of his servile devotion to a corrupt despot?

WASHINGTON, July 20, 1830.

Your letters of the 11th of April, and 5th of May, the first anticipating the favorable sentiments of his Holiness the Pope, towards the Government and the people of the United States, and the last confirming your anticipations, have been received at this department, and submitted to the President, by whom I am directed to tender his Holiness through the same channel, an assurance of the satisfaction, which he derives from his communication of the **FRANK AND LIBERAL OPINION ENTERTAINED BY THE APOSTOLIC SEE** towards the Government and the people, and of the policy which you likewise state his Holiness has adopted; and which is **SO WORTHY THE HEAD OF A GREAT CHRISTIAN CHURCH**—assiduous to cultivate in his intercourse with foreign nations, the relations of unity and good will, and sedulously to abstain from all interference in their occasional difficulties with each other, except with that benignant view of effecting reconciliation between them.

You will accordingly seek an early opportunity to make known to the Pope in terms and manner best suited to the occasion, the light in which the President views the communication referred to, and likewise you will assure him that the President reciprocates in their full extent and spirit the friendly and liberal sentiments entertained by his Holiness,

towards the government of the Apostolic See, and it is the President's wish that you should, upon the same occasion offer his congratulations to the *Holy Father* upon his recent succession to the *Tiara*, not from a preponderating influence which a just estimation of his talents and private virtues naturally had upon the enlightened councils by which that high distinction was conferred; and which affords the pledge that his pontificate will be a safe and a benificent one.

You will take care likewise, to assure his Holiness, in reference to the *paternal solicitude which is expressed in behalf of the Roman Catholics of the United States*, that all our citizens professing that religion stand upon the elevated ground which citizens of other religious denominations occupy, in regard to the rights of conscience—that of perfect liberty contradistinguished from toleration; that they enjoy an entire exception from coercion in every possible shape upon the score of religious faith, and that they are free, in common with their fellow citizens of all other sects, to adhere to or adopt the creeds, and practice the worship best adapted to their reason and prejudices, and that there exists a perfect unity of faith in the United States among religionists of all professions, as to the wisdom and policy of that cardinal feature of all our constitutions and forms of government, those of the United States and the separate States of the Union, by which this inestimable right is recognized, and the enjoyment of it inviolably secured.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

This letter of Mr. Van Buren's needs no comment, further than for it to be said, that it at once accounts for all the Roman Catholics voting with the Locofoco party, in all their elections. Did any man ever hear of a Romanists who was not a modern Democrat? We have yet the first to see or converse with. Did ever any one see an article in a Locofoco newspaper, against the Catholics? We never did, and we have examined closely for ten years. While many of the Locofoco journals of the country have not gone into a *defence* of the Catholic religion, as we allow; yet, we have observed, in some portentous instances, with what unembarrassed freedom, many of the influential politicians of the same school, have expatiated on the splendors of the Catholic consecrations;—the divine charity of Catholic orphan asylums;—the forbearance of the *oppressed* Catholics;—the imposing ceremonies of their worship;—the god-like deeds of their sisters of charity—and the superior excellency of their schools!

Now, in view of every Catholic on the continent being a modern Democrat, and of no one Democratic paper saying one word against them, on the one hand, and this complacency of Locofoco papers and politicians towards a corrupt Christianity on the other, we ask you reader, we ask you fellow countrymen of the Protestant faith! ought we not to arouse from our slumbers, and go forth to the 'help of the Lord—the help of the Lord against the mighty?' If the friends of a Republican

form of Government, and of Religious freedom, remain silent, while the designing Catholics, aided by many of our leading politicians, with Ex-President Van Buren at their head, are corroding the very vitals of the Christian community on the one hand, and our beloved country is becoming the seat of Papal thralldom on the other, we shall all be convicted both Whigs and Democrats, in Heaven's High Court of Chancery, of treason to the interests of true religion. And in the end, HELL will requite us, for our soulless-apathy, and false Democracy, out of its infinite and most liberal tortures!

But there is one other important fact which we cannot omit setting forth here. This letter was written while Mr. Van Buren was Gen. Jackson's Secretary of State. About that time, too, ROGER B. TANEY, one of the most bigoted and uncompromising Romanists in the United States, was taken into the Cabinet at Washington, and made the dirty instrument to remove the Deposits from the Bank of the United States, for which, in part, he was afterwards made Chief Justice of the United States, an office he still holds, to the disgrace of Protestant America. Not only so, but shortly after this degrading letter was written to the Pope, and this *tool* of a foreign tyrant, Mr. Taney, was taken into the Cabinet, a Roman Catholic Priest was elected Chaplain to Congress, by the Jackson Van Buren Democrats, when there were Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Clergymen at the very door of the Capital of the first talents, ready to serve if called upon! Let Protestants look at these things and wonder!

TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—Most of you, are opposed, and justly too, to the Roman Catholic Religion. You desire, if we understand you, never to be placed within the grasp of the strong holds of Catholic despotism. To rid themselves of the dogmas of Rome, in part, our forefathers first left the Old World, and encountered the horrors of the War of the Revolution in this country. And shall we, their descendants, now aid those in getting into power, who would sanction the introduction into our country, by Roman Priests, of feeding us and our children, upon *latin masses* and *wafer gods*?

Here, then, not only the members of the various Protestant Churches, but likewise every American should maintain a sleepless vigilance, and resist the first advances of foreigners to modify and change our institutions, thus preparing the way to make them the auxiliaries of the Pope. And could the great majority of our citizens be heard on this subject, they would, no doubt, condemn all who favor the designs of Romanists. They would say, give to Roman Catholics perfect liberty of conscience and all their rights as citizens, but never permit them to intermeddle

and change the character of our laws and institutions, and thus pave the way for their overthrow.

As an *item* of news, relative to the spread of Romanism in the West we give the following from the Boonsville Observer, of May 10, 1843 :

"The Roman Catholics are preparing to build a very large Monastery and College within two miles of South Bend, Ia. It is to be brick, three stories high, two hundred feet by forty, and will cost about \$15,000. The Roman Catholic Church owns a large quantity of real estate in St. Joseph County, which property is to be used towards defraying the expenses of building this large Monastery. There are 17 Monks and two Priests there now."

Not only in Indiana, but also in Alabama, and even in Tennessee, and indeed in all the Western and Middle States, are the Catholics now making inroads, and their friends are defending them. We now have before us, the "*Tuscaloosa Flag of The Union*," of 1842, the organ of Locofocoism at the seat of Government in Alabama, in which "A Catholic" occupies four entire columns, in defence of the Roman Catholic Religion—misrepresents the facts of History—and endeavors to hold up Romanists as the friends of a Republican Government. This writer says that the Catholics have never attempted to control other sects, and that "*the Catholic Church has continued its unchanging course for eighteen centuries!*" Now, such writers are either unacquainted with Church History or they presume largely upon the ignorance of the People, when they make such declarations as this. History teaches us that the arrogant Church of Rome was declared to be the head of all other Churches, and that Boniface III. was declared *Universal Bishop*, in the year 606, from which source sprang the Roman Catholics of the present day.

Another serious objection to the Catholic religion is, that the Priests are all required to take an oath to the Pope, as binding as the oath of a Mason to his fraternity. These Priests too, whether in Europe or America, or elsewhere, belong to the order of the *Jesuits*, and to show that they are dangerous men in a Republic, we give the following notice of them from Goodrich's Church History, which is good authority we know in the United States :

"Having formed the plan of the order of which he was ambitious to become the founder, Loyola submitted it to the pope Paul III. for his sanction ; declaring it to have been revealed from heaven. Paul, fearful of its effects, at first refused to grant it his approbation. But at length, Loyola removed his scruples by an offer, which was addressed to his pride and ambition. He proposed that, besides the three vows of poverty, chastity, and monastic obedience, common to other orders, the members of this should take a fourth, viz. obedience to the pope ; binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command, for the service of religion, without requiring any thing for their support.

The acquisition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was, at this time, an object of the highest moment. The order of Jesuits was, therefore, confirmed; and the most ample privileges granted to its members.

The *beneficial consequences* of this institution were soon apparent.—In less than half a century, the society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman Catholic Church; its power and wealth increased with even greater rapidity than its patrons had anticipated; the number of its members multiplied to many thousands, who were distinguished for their learning, character, and accomplishments and, by their art and address, were powerful auxiliaries in forwarding the plans of the court of Rome.

The *government* of this order was despotic. A general, chosen by the pope for life, possessed supreme and independent power; extending to every person and to every case. By his sole authority, and at his pleasure, he elected officers and removed them; controlled the funds and enacted laws. Every member was at his disposal, and subject to his commands.

Thus subservient to their leader, and he, the indefatigable servant of the pope, the Jesuits went forth, and soon filled every land. Contrary to other orders, they sought no seclusion; practised no austerities, adopted no peculiar habit. On the contrary, they mingled in all the active scenes of life; they became lawyers and physicians, mathematicians, painters and artists, that they might find a readier access to men, and exert more successfully their influence, in favor of the pope and his cause.

Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had obtained the chief instruction of youth, in every Catholic country in Europe.—They had become confessors to monarchs and nobles; and were engaged in nearly every intrigue and revolution. As they wore no peculiar habit, and observed uncommon strictness, they lived in society, disguised as to their real character. Jesuits were known by Jesuits; but to the eye of the world, they passed unsuspected.

Such is a brief account of an order of men, who, at this time, enlisted in the service of papal Rome; and being actuated by an incredible attachment to that power, were ready to sacrifice, even life, for the purposes of its aggrandizement. Their exertions powerfully tended to keep alive the attachment of many others to the Roman faith, and to prevent so rapid an advance, as might otherwise have been, of the Protestant cause."

[From the Jonesborough Whig, of November 1840.]

BISHOP ENGLAND.—The letter of Mr. Van Buren, to the Pope, it will be recollected, was written on the 20th of July, 1830; and now, in July 1840, ten years from that date, BISHOP ENGLAND, of Charleston, South Carolina, the acknowledged head of the Catholic Church in the

United States, addressed a POLITICAL PROCLAMATION to the members of his Church, generally, from which we subjoin the following extract :

"I also believe that our Federal Government has had as *little* influence in producing the present distress in our States, as it had in producing that which afflicts Europe ; and that it has as *little* power to alleviate that distress as it has constitutional right to interfere with its causes.

Some of our most eminent citizens have expressed deliberate opinions widely different from mine. I have given full consideration of their reasoning, but cannot come into their conclusions."

Thus it will be seen, that the Bishop, after laboring to acquit Mr. Van Buren of the charge of "producing the present distress in our States," admits that others differ with him. Then in an extract from a Cross-decorated party missive of his, addressed to his *partizan scrfs*, and styled a CIRCULAR LETTER, he hurras for Van Buren in these words :

"Beloved brethren, flee this contamination ; keep aloof from these crimes—reflect that you are accountable not only to society but to God, for the honest, independent and fearless exercise of your own franchise ; that it is trust confided to you not for your private gain but for the public good, and that yielding to any undue influence you act either through favor, affection or the motives of dishonest gain against your own deliberate view of what will promote your country's good, you have violated your trust, and you have betrayed your conscience, and you are a renegade to your country."

"CATHOLIC MISCELLANY."—This is the title of Bishop England's organ, printed and published in Charleston, under his own eye, and since the publication of the Bishop's *electioneering* letters, it has held forth in Van Buren's defence, and in opposition to the Whigs, in these words :—

"We know that a *large and powerful party* have long been engaged under the pretence of protecting our liberties from her foreign influence, to create a state of *white slavery* for all future Catholic emigrants, and then to discover other modes of degrading those who cannot be stripped of the citizenship which they have obtained. Whether Van Buren or Harison be our next President will have no influence upon our cause. We *know* our opponents, and we have studied them closely, and whether in or out of the administration, their feelings and their dispositions in our regard are as insusceptible of change as is our own determination to protect, to the best of our ability, ourselves and those whose cause we advocate, from the evil which *is contemplated by those who, thank God, have not as yet the power* which if once in their hands, would not be left to slumber. The spirit which animates *the men to whom we allude* spoke out plainly and openly in that petition from a little town in Massachusetts, presented by MR. CLAY to the Senate of the United States, praying against the naturalization of foreigners and the admission of Catholics."

CATHOLIC OPPOSITION TO OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS.—

The Catholic Bishop of Baltimore, in a letter to his “Lord God the Pope,” in 1832, speaks as follows of the State of Virginia:—

“I sent to Richmond, a zealous missionary, a native of America.—He travelled through the whole of Virginia. The Protestants flocked on all sides to hear him, which is not at all surprising, for the people are *divided into numerous sects, and know not what faith to embrace!*—In consequence of being SPOILED by bad instruction, from the METHODISTS and PRESBYTERIANS, they will judge every thing themselves; they, therefore, hear eagerly, every *new comer!*”

The Bishop of Bardstown, Ky., in a letter to the corrupt powers of Austria, in 1830, and which was incautiously published, says:—

“The principle difficulty the Catholic missionaries have to contend with, in converting the Indians, as well as the whites, is their continual traffic, which cannot be hindered, AS LONG AS THIS REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT SHALL EXIST!!!”

A Catholic priest in the State of Michigan, then a Territory, in a letter to the Pope of Rome, since published in that foreign despotic clime, says:—

“The reason why we cannot make converts to the Church of Rome here, or get leave to baptize the children, is, THIS GOVERNMENT IS TOO FREE!!!”

The “Register and Diary,” a Catholic Journal published in New York, says:—

“We seriously advise Catholic parents not to let their children read Protestant books. There is more danger to be apprehended in this quarter, than our friends can conceive. Parents, we are aware, have not always the time to examine these matters; but if they trust implicitly to us, we shall, with God’s help, do it for them. We read that they may *not* read!”

A Catholic Priest in the city of Philadelphia, in 1829, in a letter to the Pope, who acts wholly by the promptings of the *Austrian Cabinet*; and who, in the plenitude of his *foreign usurpations*, through the influence of Martin Van Buren, has already extended his iron sceptre over our land, till we feel sensibly its weight—this vile Priest, we say, declares:—

“If the Protestant sects are beforehand with us, it will be difficult to *destroy* their influence. Zeal for *error*, is always hot, particularly among the METHODISTS and PRESBYTERIANS, who nothing can turn from their track, and who heap ABSURDITY UPON ABSURDITY!!!”

We could multiply extracts, but it is useless. What say the Protestant Churches to all this? And what say they to Van Buren, who extols the corrupt head of this Church, calling him his “*Holy Father?*” Nay, more, by his influence, he had *Roger B. Tancy*, a violent

Catholic, and a devoted slave of a *Foreign Despot*, appointed Chief Justice of the United States! And by his management too, he had an infamous *Jesuit of Rome*, appointed Chaplain to an American Congress! Last, though not least of all, he has adopted a Sub-Treasury System, for all the world, a *perfect model* of the Pope's National Bank at Rome!

We conclude by again asking the question, what think ye, Protestants, of all these things? Can you go them for the sake of *party*? This will explain to others, why it is, that the respectable and intelligent portion of the Clergy, of every denomination are arrayed against Mr. Van Buren.

PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.—We present to our readers, below, the Constitution of the "PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION," entered into under the auspices of all the Protestant Clergy of Pittsburg and Alleghany cities, in Pennsylvania. The meeting was held on the evening of the 23th February, 1843, and was numerously attended, as we learn from the Pittsburg papers. It was held in the 1st Presbyterian church, and an Address explanatory of the object for which the meeting had been convened, was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wilson. Almost every congregation of Protestants in the two cities were represented at the meeting—and it affords us pleasure to see so lively an interest taken—not only by the Reverend Clergy, but by the Protestant people generally, on a subject which has occupied so much of our thoughts, ever since Mr. Van Buren addressed his notorious letter to the Pope.—It has been our constant endeavor, as our readers will testify, throughout our editorial career, to rouse the public feeling on this subject, and in future, we even promise to be more vigilant. Too much cannot be said on this subject, if said to purpose, and in accordance with facts. It will not be denied that too much apathy has pervaded the Protestant public on this subject—and we rejoice to see this dawning of increased attention, ere it is too late, to the giant spread of Romanism, and its inseparable companion, Locofocoism, with all their train of error, of plunder, superstition, corruption and blasphemy.

Even if we disclaimed having any thing to do with any man's mode of worshiping God;—if we cared not a fig, whether he offers his prayers to Catholic images, or to the God who made him;—or whether the Priest pray him out of hell for a stipulated sum, or the price of man's redemption through Christ, and by means of repentance and faith, effect his salvation—still, we would warn the people against Romanism. We should warn the people against its baneful influence upon *political* grounds, had we no other objection to the system. It is the political bearing of the principles of the Catholics that we are opposed to—their

code of morals and system of education—in perfect unison with those of the Locofoco party, who go hand in hand in elections. Will any man point us to a Roman Catholic in the United States who is not a Jackson Van Buren Democrat, and who does not vote with that party? Then indeed we shall have seen, what we never yet have laid our eyes upon.

But to the Association at Pittsburg, similar associations to which, we hope will be formed in every town and county in Protestant Christendom, in Europe and America. The committee appointed for that purpose, reported the draft of a Constitution—which was unanimously adopted, and is as follows:—

CONSTITUTION OF THE PITTSBURG AND ALLEGHANY PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.—Whereas, The system of Popery is soul destroying both in its doctrines and practices, and also subversive of the rights of man, and so ruinous to the welfare of nations; and

Whereas, great efforts are now being made and with alarming success to propagate that system in the United States; and

Whereas, we believe it to be our duty, as the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God over all, and blessed forever, in reliance on the omnipotent agency of his Holy Spirit, to unite for the purpose of defending the great interests of the Christian religion, as transmitted to us by our Protestant forefathers, we therefore adopt the following constitution:

ARTICLE I. The Pittsburg and Alleghany Protestant Association auxiliary to the American Protestant Association shall be the name of this society.

ART. II. The objects shall be:

1. To give aid and encouragement to all the disciples of Christ in the diffusion of knowledge on the Popish controversy.

2. To make efforts for the more extensive circulation and study of the Holy Scriptures. 1. Among the destitute of all classes, especially among Papists. 2. The introduction of the Bible into all schools, as a class book. 3. To distribute books, pamphlets, journals, in the English, German and French languages, to inform the public on the heresy, idolatry, tyranny and corruption of popery. 4. To enlighten the community in relation to the dangers which threaten our country from the insidious designs and doings of Romanism.

ART. III. This Association shall be composed of such persons as are reputable for their evangelical profession of the faith, for their christian morality; who adopt the principles of this constitution and who contribute to its funds.

ART. IV. Quarterly meetings shall be held for the purpose of public discussion on the evils of Popery, and the means of reclaiming those who are deluded by the deceivableness of its unrighteousness.

ART. V. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three

Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and two Lay Directors from each denomination connected with this Society, together with all ministers of the Gospel belonging to it. These officers shall form a board for the transaction of business, and seven of them at any meeting duly convened, shall form a quorum. The board shall hold stated meetings quarterly.

ART. VI. The board of Managers at the first meeting after their election, shall choose an executive committee of three members, who, together with the secretaries and treasurer, shall meet as often as they find it expedient for the transaction of such business as may be committed to them by the board, to which they shall render an account at its quarterly meetings.

ART. VII. The duties of the Board shall be to collect information in relation to the progress, plans and evils of Popery, and otherwise by all the most proper means, to carry out the benevolent objects of this Association, and to report to it their proceedings annually on its anniversary, which shall be on the evening of the 4th of July.

ART. VIII. The board shall have power to enact such by-laws as are not inconsistent with this constitution, and to fill all vacancies that may occur between the annual meetings of the society.

ART. IX. This constitution shall be altered at the annual meetings only of this society and by a majority of two thirds of the members present, and no alteration shall be made that is contrary to the word of God, or subversive of the principles set forth in the 3d article.

JAMES R. WILSON,

Chairman Committee.

Feb. 28, 1843.

The following persons were elected officers of the Association for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT,

REV. FRANCIS HERRON, D. D.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

REV. JOHN BLACK D. D.
" JAS. WILSON D. D.
" MR. PRESTON.

TREASURER,
REC. SECRETARY,
COR. SECRETARY,

JOHN SHEA.
REV. A. W. BLACK.
REV. D. H. RIDDLE.

Laymen from the different Denominations belonging to the Association.

Presbyterian Church

Dr. Wray,
Moses Atwood.

Episcopal Church

J. C. Odiome,
Mr. Wilson.

Ass. Reformed Church

Thomas Hanna,
D. L. Brown.

Ref. Presbyterian Church

Gabriel Adams,
Philip Mowbry.

Ass. Presbyterian Church

John Graham,
Wm. Bell.

Methodist Episco. Church	}	John Irwin,
	}	John Mitchell.
Prot. Methodist Church	}	C. Craig,
	}	E. W. Stephens.
Baptist Church	}	B. L. Palmestock,
	}	L. C. Judson.
Cumberland Church	}	S. Bulford,
	}	J. Rush.

RESOLVED, That all papers in the city friendly to the cause of Protestantism, be requested to publish these proceedings.

F. HERRON, President.

A. W. BLACK, Secretary.

OUR CONCLUSION.—With this publication, we close our discussion of the Catholic question. The plan adopted by the Protestant Churches of Pennsylvania, is exactly the thing. Let the Clergy of every order go to work, because they, above all other men, will constitute a body of most efficient allies, which the cause of liberty can summon into the field of argument, in any emergency, brought about by the Romanists, or any other foes to liberty. We do not call on the Clergy to become common bar-room politicians, or to embark in an electioneering crusade, for, or against this, that, or the other partizan; but let them acquaint themselves with the constitutions of the Church and of the Union, and with the leading principles of the science of Government, that they may be prepared, when forced to it by Romanists, to exert a salutary influence in this country, in behalf of that liberty for which our fathers bled and died!

We are happy to find, that the various Churches, and numerous friends of liberty, in all parts of the Union, are becoming alive to the importance of these things. Still, we are sorry to say, that the sentiment of Shakespeare will apply to thousands, even of *Protestants*:

“We hear this fearful tempest sing,
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;
We see the wind set sore upon our sails,
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.”

CHAPTER VIII.

A WORD TO LABORERS—THE TARIFF QUESTION—A NATIONAL BANK—
HENRY CLAY AND THE PRESIDENCY—TREASURY NOTES REPUDIATED.

LIKE the Arabs, the Americans are fast becoming a gregarious nation, and must finally travel from spot to spot, as agriculturists and hunters, with all our manufacturing and producing energies crippled and destroyed! The ruthless war waged against the business, commerce, and currency of the country, by the leaders of the Jackson Van Buren party, for the last twelve years, has had the effect to paralyze all our operations, and has brought bankruptcy on our nation, the States and their citizens!

With these inevitable tendencies before us, what can we do? Shall we sit down and cry over our misfortunes—look at the departure of our former greatness—sigh after our precious metals, drained by a ruinous balance of trade against us—while the political quacks of the country, like the Madagascar Bat, fan us to sleep with the wide spread wings of 'free trade and sailors rights,' at the same time literally sucking us to death? Shall we see our laborers and artisans starving and witness the distress, loss of credit and mortification which must follow all *Locofoco theoretical abstractions*, concerning an idle state of free trade, low wages, and an exclusive hard currency? Already our produce is worth nothing—live stock brings nothing in the market—and the result is, that our stock is eating up all the grain in the country—and many of the poor are suffering for bread. Beside this, farmers have ceased to cultivate their usual amount of acres—they have ceased too, to give laborers meat and bread for their work, because they cannot sell what they raise—and hence, we again say, the poor are suffering. To the day laborers of the country, therefore, these facts present a subject for contemplation on evils, which many of them, by their votes, aid in fastening upon the country. And were they not ignorantly going against their own and their country's interests, we should say *starve them to death*, as a reward for their doings! But bear with them a little longer, and their nakedness and hunger will *address* them in language that cannot be controverted! They will then contend for the protection of the manufacturers, the industry, and the labor of the nation by an adequate tariff—and they will show their *faith* by their *works* at the ballot-box. They

will not regard that as an American policy which would sacrifice their interests to the visionary theories of "*free trade*"—which would open our ports, and close the doors of our factories—which would render us dependent on foreign countries for the most common and most essential fabrics. No—they will take their stand by the forges, the ploughs, the looms, and the shuttles of the country, and inscribe first and foremost upon their standards,—"*PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY!*" Here *we* have long since taken our stand, and if we fall, we fall with the strong armed laborers of the country. But in their cause we cannot fail—no, never! never!!

But not only is a Tariff demanded. This nation wants a national currency—a circulating medium of equal value in Maine and Florida, at home and abroad, and the Whig party is pledged to give it, while the whole of the Locofoco forces are just as resolutely committed against every thing of the kind. Against the great relief measures proposed by the Whigs, the Locofoco leaders are to a man, opposed. The Whig party, therefore, are the national party—the People's party, identified with all their pursuits and interests, and as certainly as November 1844 comes, the Whig party will again be placed in power, to carry out these measures—and HENRY CLAY, will be the chosen instrument of relief, reform, and national regeneration. We go for Mr. Clay now, then, and forever—not because he is generally agreed upon by the Whig party, but because *we were always for him*—because we know the MAN—know that we can confide in him—know that he is an enlightene! and patriotic statesman—know that he is the *Doctor* to devise a suitable remedy for these disjointed times—and know that he will reinstate the National Constitution, and bring back the Government to the good old Republican track in which it travelled under the guidance of Washington, Madison and other fathers whose honesty, patriotism, and love of country made "assurance doubly sure," in whatever pertained to American interests.

We have seen it announced for weeks pasts in the Government official at Washington, by the Secretary of the Treasury, that certain Treasury Notes, to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars, would not be redeemed by the Department, because as alleged, they have been *re-issued* without authority after "cancellation." Speaking of these same Notes, the United States Gazette says,—

"Now we have seen some of these very notes which have been decried by the Secretary, and on a most careful and spectacted examination of every part of them, we failed to discover the least sign or token of cancellation, or any mark or note by which any of the most skilled in

these matters, would be led to think that they had ever been redeemed by the Treasury, or placed out of the track of circulation.

This attempt to diminish the value of the paper of the Government, issued by the authority of the National Legislature, and now in the hands of the people, is one of the greatest outrages, not to say highest handed measures of wrong, we have ever heard of, and ought to be severely and universally rebuked. There is no example, on record, we believe, of a similar attempt, by a *National* Government, to *repudiate* its sacred obligations in this way. The agent of Great Britain once re-issued *National* Stock, in a fraudulent way to an alarming amount; but that Government promptly met them, and never once thought of refusing to accept and pay the bills in the hands of innocent holders. Will the Government of the United States refuse, in the case of these notes, because they were fraudulently re-issued by the corrupt administration of Martin Van Buren? Certainly not. This Government knows too well what is due to those who put confidence in her promises and ability to pay; and hence, she will bear, as she ought to bear, the losses growing out of the mismanagement, and corruptions of those who had the control of the National purse when these notes were issued.

This should go still further to convince the substantial farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers of the country, of the extravagant fancies of those visionary men who talk of carrying on the machinery of the Government, without a well regulated Bank of the United States. In 1838 and '39, the United States Government issued TWENTY MILLIONS of these Treasury Notes; and every year since, the United States Government has been a Banker and its issues have been PAPER! It has deluged the country with PAPER CREDITS, professing to go alone for gold and silver coin; and now, forsooth, she turns about and *repudiates* her notes of hand, and tells us that all who "trade on borrowed capital ought to break." The people had better demand a National Bank of their rulers at once for they will have it to do. We never will prosper till we get such an institution, and the sooner we go about establishing it the better.

CHAPTER IX.

HYPOCRISY OF MODERN LOCOFOCOISM—REPUDIATION AND THEFTS— PARTY NAMES—DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY, &c.

THE advocates of bad morals and pernicious doctrines, within the last ten years, have greatly increased their numbers and extended their borders, on the continent of America. And we must be pardoned for saying, that if the Devil had traversed this country, in its length and breadth, in the character of an Angel of light and mercy, he could not more effectually have deceived some people than the vile leaders of Locofoco misrule have done, in the name of *Democracy*.

The Locofoco *revolutionary insurrection* in the last regular session of the Tennessee Legislature, which called down upon the heads of that party, the just indignation of every real friend to his country, throughout the Union, was begun and carried on in the name of *Democracy*; and upon the false pretence, that the custom of electing United States Senators to Congress, upon the joint ballot of the two houses of the General Assembly, which had prevailed ever since the organization of the State Government, was *unconstitutional*! Thus the State of Tennessee, for the first time in her history, was suffered to go unrepresented in the most important branch of the National Legislature, and the honest yeomanry of the State were betrayed and deceived by the infamous "*thirteen immortals*" in the State Senate, and their still more infamous abettors, Ex-Gov. Polk and his hireling newspaper editors, who with their lying tongues professed to entertain the highest regard for the welfare of the People, and were apparently ready to sacrifice liberty and life in defending *their cause*, when the attainment of political leaders, were their only object, and *treachery* and *perfidy* the vile means by which they sought to obtain their unholy ends.

And what is Locofocoism—genuine unadulterated Locofocoism, of the modern Jackson Van Buren stamp, in Tennessee, to excite the prejudices and inflame the passions of men, and thus to send "firebrands arrows and death" into every portion of American society, and American interests. And while they do this, they *profess* a sacred regard for the interests of the People—following the unworthy example of their great prototype, *Robespierre*, who, in the bloody days of the French Revolution, in order to incite the *pious Jacobins* to the commission of

Democratic deeds, sung in their ears the honeyed phrases of Locofocoism, "*Pauvre Peuple ! Vertueux Peuple !*" which being interpreted signifies *Poor People ! Virtuous People !* American Locofocos, like their "illustrious predecessors" in France, have instigated rebellions—infuriated mobs of Roman Catholics—countenanced the sacking of stores in Rhode Island—the plundering of the National Treasury, by villainous office-holders—defrauded the ballot-box—trampled upon the laws and constitution of States—driven legislators from their seats with an armed force—nullified the laws of Congress by State Legislation—trampled upon the Constitution of the Union—and even desecrated the sacred altars of God ! Locofocoism is the *Bohon Upas* of America—it has swept over the country and in its *poisonous truck* lies prostrate the best currency the world ever knew, American commerce, and ruined credit—the sunken glory, and blasted honor of a once great nation, and a prosperous and happy people !

When a Locofoco, by the remissness or apathy of the Whig party, in a National or State election, slips into office, Democracy calls it "*the sober second thoughts of the people ;*" but when freemen aroused, as in 1840, assert their rights, and turn "*Rogues and Royalists*" out of office, they are said to be "*drunk on hard cider !*" Such is the faith of modern Democracy in the capacity of the People to govern themselves ! We repeat, then, that the blackest deeds that ever disgraced France, were committed in the name of *Democracy* ; and the long series of outrages that have disgraced and dishonored the American Congress, and the various Legislatures of these States, have been plotted and perpetrated in the name of *Democracy* ! Their hypocrisy is every where exhibited. Look at their insurrection in Rhode Island, which spread consternation and alarm throughout the Union, and which found supporters in the American Senate ! Look at their swindling doctrine of *Repudiation* in Mississippi ! See them *Gerrymandering* the State of Virginia, in order to prevent the election of Whigs to Congress ! Behold the States of Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, catching the dishonest spirit of their brethren in other States, and of their leaders in Congress, and indirectly falling into the slough of *Repudiation*, by the enactment of *relief laws*. Rank and odious *thieving* is the ultimate design of Locofocoism, and the cold, creeping, calculating hypocrites of the party, conceal their secret purposes, and swindling doctrines by raising the mad-dog cry of *Democracy ! the dear People ! love of country !* An honest party, or an honest man, who intends to pay a debt, never speaks, thinks, or even dreams, of any informality in its creation. His enquiry is, do I owe it, and have I *value received* for the

note or bond given? But the history of this country shows, that every dishonest principle, and every revolutionary doctrine, which have found favor among politicians, since the elevation to the Presidency, of *Andrew Jackson*, has been embraced by the Locofocos, and by them promulgated in the name of *Democracy*. And with them, to this day, this name is the passport of thieves and scoundrels to office and power. Ought not the hypocrisy of this party to be exposed? Yes, the false garb of *Democracy* should be torn from them—their startling creed should be held up to the gaze of an injured and insulted People, as a beacon to generations yet unborn, to enable them to shun, in all time to come, the filthy slough of Locofocoism, in which thousands are now wallowing.

The names which pertain to the “great democratic party,” are as numerous, almost, as the States in the Union. The genuine term, and the one most expressive of their real nature and sentiments, seems to be “Locofoco,” and was given to the ultras and outlaws of the party in New York. In parts of New England they are called “Pig-Ringers” and “Subterraneans.” In Maryland there are those who are called “Butt-enders,” &c. In Maine, the more rabid of them are known as “Wring necks.” In South Carolina they are distinguished from their opponents by the imposing appellation of “State Rights Republican Nullifiers.” In Ohio they style themselves “The Entire Swine Party.” In Virginia, they are known as the “Republican Abstractionists,” while in Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, they are termed the “Relief Law Party,” and in Tennessee, the ultra democrats are known as the “Barn-burners,” “Wool-Stealers” and “Counterfeiters!”

And, now, for a definition of the term *Democracy*, we subjoin the following article from the Baltimore Whig:—

“DEMOCRACY [of the Greek words *demos*, the people and *krateo*, to exercise power over,] a form of government where the supreme or legislative power is lodged in the people, or persons chosen out from them.—*Bailey*.

Having given the very best definition of the word that can be found, let us see what claim the Loco Foco party has to the title of *Democratic*.

Persons chosen out from the people, *i. e.* the representatives of the people, make laws, and John Tyler *re-toes* them—arrogates to *himself* the right to legislate. *He* will exercise the *supreme power*. Can this be called a “form of government where the supreme or legislative power is lodged in the people, or persons chosen out from them?” No! But this is the form of government that the Loco Focos uphold and approve. Then can the Locofocos properly be called *Democrats*? No! No!—NO!

Transpose the Greek words given above, however, and you have the definition of *Loco Foco Democracy*. Instead of (DEMOS) *the people*,

(KRATEO) *exercise the power*, read (KRATEO) *to exercise power over* (DEMOS) *the people*, and you have *modern patent Democracy*.

A wag of our acquaintance, who pretends to more skill in Dutch than Greek, says that the word DEMOS, literally translated, means *dem us*, or *damn us*, and therefore that KRATEO and DEMOS signifies *rule us and damn us*—which is the *latter-day* definition of Democracy. We suspect the fellow is as near correct as it is possible to get in this age of crooked ways and Tyler sway. ”

CHAPTER X.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND FUND—GENERAL JACKSON AND DISTRIBUTION—MR. VAN BUREN AND DISTRIBUTION—A DEMOCRATIC MEASURE WHEN INTRODUCED BY THESE MEN—A FEDERAL MEASURE WHEN ADVOCATED BY MR. CLAY AND THE WHIG PARTY.

THE policy of distributing the proceeds of the sales of Public Lands, among the several States of the Union, was not originally a party question, and ought not now to be such. The necessity of the measure—not to say propriety thereof, urge themselves by too many important considerations, affecting both the interests of the States and of the people, ever to allow of its becoming solely a party question. And indeed, as high a pitch as party spirit has arisen to, there are yet but few of the States so ultra in their Locofocoism, and so suicidal in their policy as pertinaciously to reject their shares of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands. Several States though have refused. And it is a distinguishing characteristic of the violence of *Van Buren Democracy*, which bounds every question of policy within the contracted limits of partizan interests—so that, a subject which, but a few years since, was a most decided *Democratic Jackson* measure, should now be reprobated as a *Federal Clay Whig* policy, and wanting every essential quality of republicanism!

The terms of the cession were, that these "lands shall be a *common fund* for the use and benefit of such of the United States as *have* become, or *shall* become members of the Confederacy, according to their usual *respective proportions* in the general charge and expenditure," after the objects of cession shall have been answered. And with respect to the lands acquired by treaty—the Constitution explicitly provides, that "THE CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO DISPOSE OF, AND MAKE ALL NEEDFUL RULES AND REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE TERRITORY OR OTHER PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES." Congress, then, has a *rightful power* to dispose of these lands, which at once settles the question of *constitutionality*. But Congress has, in repeated instances, exercised the power of disposing of these lands at discretion. We will only mention one case—the case of Gen. LAFAYETTE, to whom Congress gave large quantities of lands in Florida, besides paying him for his services in money. Moreover, the Supreme Court of the United States decided, in the case of *Jackson vs*

Clark, I Peters, page 628, "THAT THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT RECEIVED THIS TERRITORY IN TRUST FOR THE USE AND BENEFIT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFEDERACY."

But as we do not intend to be tedious, we will bring forward our authorities for advocating this measure. We commence with an extract from Gen. Jackson's Message of 1832, which ought, we think, to have great weight in a certain quarter :

"Among the interests which merit the consideration of Congress, after the payment of the public debt (*war debt*) one of the most important in my view is that of the public lands. Previous to the formation of the present constitution it was recommended by Congress that a portion of the waste lands, owned by the States should be ceded to the United States, for purposes of general harmony and as a FUND to meet the EXPENSES OF THE WAR. The recommendation was adopted, and at different periods of time the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, granted their vacant soil for uses for which it had been asked. As the LANDS may now be considered as RELIEVED from this PLEDGE the OBJECT for which they were CEDED having been ACCOMPLISHED, it is in the discretion of Congress to DISPOSE of them, in such way as best to conduce to the quiet, HARMONY and GENERAL INTEREST of the AMERICAN PEOPLE. In examining this question, all LOCAL and SECTIONAL FEELING should be discarded, and the *whole* United States regarded as one people interested alike in the property of their common country * * * *

* * * * It seems to be our TRUE POLICY that the Public Lands shall CEASE, as soon as practicable, to be a SOURCE OF REVENUE, and that they be sold to settlers in limited parcels, at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States, the expense of the present system, and the cost arising under our Indian compact.' "

Such was the language of General Jackson, in 1832, speaking for the party now in opposition to the Distribution of the proceeds of the sales of Public Lands! And this recommendation found authoritative response in the report of the *democratic committee* on Public Lands, (Mr. King Chairman,) who on a survey of the whole question, came to the conclusion expressed in the following most emphatic sentence :

"The Committee TURN with confidence from THE LAND OFFICES to the CUSTOM HOUSE, and say, HERE are the TRUE SOURCES OF FEDERAL REVENUE—GIVE LAND to the CULTIVATOR; tell him to keep HIS MONEY, and lay it out in their cultivation. "

We have now shown that General Jackson and his party saw no Constitutional difficulty in substantially *giving away*, the Public Lands to the Western States, in 1832. Has the Constitution CHANGED since that time? It is proved that they considered the Tariff, EXCLUSIVELY and SOLELY, as the true source of revenue, and a means of

maintenance to the General Government. Has an increase of revenue arising from duties on imports, not been in proportion.

Reader, all this was DEMOCRATIC, when it came from General Jackson and Mr. King, and was advocated by the *Globe*—but it is “Federal” when it comes from Mr. Clay, and is supported by Whig papers and politicians. These things illustrate very strikingly, the facilities with which politicians and parties can “turn about and wheel about” and still go-ahead-politicians, with unblushing impudence, repudiating—not only old debts, but likewise old opinions; and parties, without a particle of independence, following them in their “winding way.”

Truly,

“They wire in and wire out,
And leave a body still in doubt;
Whether the snake that made the track;
Was going South or coming back.”

When President Jackson recommended Distribution in this Message, and when Mr. King, that uncompromising Democrat, as Chairman of the Committee on public Lands, likewise urged the measure, the *Richmond Enquirer*, the exponent of Virginia Democracy, broke forth in the following strain of rapturous approbation:

“What might not Virginia do with an annual dividend of \$800,000? or even half of it? How many miles of road might she not complete? How many schools establish? How many of her degraded population might she not transport to the shores of Africa? Putting aside, however, all the allurements of self interest, and viewing the question alone as between the United States and the States where the lands are situated—we are prompted to ACQIESCE at once in the proposition of the Secretary, and very much for the reason which he assigns, that all causes of difficulty with general government on the subject would then be removed.”

We will next submit the testimony of MARTIN VAN BUREN, in favor of this measure. He is good authority with the Democracy of the country, as he is expected to be their candidate for the Presidency in 1844. The following extract is from his speech delivered in the Senate of the United States in 1826:

“The subject of the public lands was becoming daily more and more interesting, and would occupy much time in legislation. It extended the patronage of the Government over the States in which they were situated, to a great extent; it subjected them to an unwise and unprofitable dependence on Federal Government. No man could render the country a greater service, than he who should devise some plan by which the United States might be relieved from the ownership of this property by some equitable mode. He would vote for no proposition to invest the lands in the States in which they stood a

some just and equitable terms, as related to the other States in the confederacy. He hoped, that after having full information on the subject, they should be able to effect that great object. He believed that if those lands were disposed of at once to the several States, it would be satisfactory to all."

The chief ground upon which the Whig party, with Mr. Clay at their head, advocate the Distribution among the States, of the proceeds arising from the sales of the Public Lands, is, that it is a *trust fund*, in the hands of the Government properly belonging to the States, which the General Government has no *right* to appropriate to its own uses. Hear what HUGH L. WHITE says, on this subject, in his letter of resignation to the Tennessee Legislature, as a Senator in Congress:

"IT IS A TRUST FUND, WHICH BELONGS NOT TO THE FEDERAL, BUT TO THE STATE GOVERNMENTS."

What need we more explicit? And who will say that Judge White was not a *Judge of the Law*; or that he was dishonest in pronouncing this decision? But the Judge further says in this same letter of resignation:

* * * * "The ordinary duties necessary and proper for the regulation of our commerce with foreign nations ought to be sufficient to bring into the Treasury as much money as would defray the economical expenses of the Federal Government, AND EACH OF THE STATES OUGHT TO RECEIVE ITS FAIR PROPORTION OF THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALES OF THE PUBLIC LANDS."

"I consider Tennessee as honestly entitled to her proportion of this fund as any of your honorable body is to a tract of land devised to him by his father."

"It appears to me, even at this time, our State very much needs her portion of this fund, and that in a short time we shall be much more in want of it. Your honorable body may be satisfied that a majority of our citizens are willing to relinquish their interest in this fund, but I am not so satisfied; and as a Senator in Congress *I will not do any act by which such an idea is to be sanctioned.*

"It may be in the course of a very short time, that this fund will be indispensably necessary to save our citizens from *heavy taxation*, and I should never forgive myself, if by yielding to your instructions, I did an act which produced a serious injury to the people who have so long honored me with their confidence."

The following extract from a work entitled "**THE TEXT; OR, PARTIES TRIED BY THEIR ACTS,**" published in Philadelphia, in 1843, gives the argument in favor of Distribution, in a nut shell.—We quote from page 12:—

"Besides the equity and consequent obligations of the case, there

are *four* cogent political and eminently practical reasons, which urge distribution in *some* form. 1. The States are but integral parts of a whole—the Union. If the parts are weak, the whole is weak; and if the parts are strong, the whole is strong. The interests of the parts cannot be disjoined from those of the whole. 2. In the Federal Constitution, the States have relinquished the right of collecting revenue from imposts, and it is vested in the United States. This will naturally be regarded as conferring some obligations on the United States to be at least *considerate* and *kind* towards the States in their needs, when in danger of being driven to direct taxation for want of this power, and to help them if they can without violating the Constitution. 3. It will always be felt, and we think with truth and justice, and felt more and more, that it was the action of the Federal Government, which brought the indebted States and other parties, and the country generally, into these difficulties. Hence arises the obligation to render assistance, when it can be done in a proper and Constitutional way. 4. The importance of rescuing the tariff system from the fluctuating influence of an ever shifting land revenue, and the practical evils resulting from this connexion, would seem sufficient to make it better to *give* away the public lands, than to have such a disturbing cause for ever acting on the Tariff policy. Once dispose of this agitating question, and let the General Government depend on a Tariff for support, we may then hope for a permanent and uniform system of revenue and finance.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE SUBTREASURY SCHEME.

So much has been already said in reference to this scheme that nothing more than a cursory view—a mere *outline* of the scheme will be presented in this chapter. It is an iniquitous, selfish, narrow-minded, partizan *Executive* measure, intended for the benefit of office-holders, and the oppression of the people.

No advocate of the currency scheme, to our knowledge, has yet had the hardihood to pretend that it will relieve the pecuniary distress of the country. No—all the merit claimed for it, by its friends, is that it provides for the safe keeping and disbursement of the public monies. It is the *third* and last, of three miserable experiments by Messrs. Jackson and Van Buren, in their attempts to regulate the currency, and to furnish the country a sound circulating medium. The *first* experiment was by *Dr. Jackson*, who undertook to furnish an *exclusive metallic* currency. This experiment failed, to all intents and purposes, and the country has less gold and silver in it now, than when this humbug commenced. The *second* experiment was a resort to State banks; and this, too, signally failed. Our readers are aware that State banks were multiplied, and that their issues became abundant; but the paper of these institutions depreciated in the hands of the holders, and some of the States have even *repudiated* the debts they created to get capital to bank upon! We need only refer to the ruin of many of the Georgia banks—the ruinous discount at which Alabama money is got off—and the repudiation of Mississippi State Bonds—Locofoco States and Locofoco measures. The *third* experiment, is the Sub-Treasury scheme, which was in operation from the issuance of Treasury Notes by Congress in 1837, till the repeal of the infamous law, by a Whig Congress in 1841.

The subjoined extract, touching the nature and object of the Sub-Treasury scheme, is from the speech of Mr. CLAY, when the bill was under consideration in the Senate chamber, and gives the true features of the system:

“And now allow me to examine, and candidly and carefully consider, the remedy which this bill offers to a suffering People for the unparalleled distresses under which they are writhing. I will first analyze

and investigate it as its friends and advocates represent it. What is it? What is this measure, which has so long and so deeply agitated this country, under the various denominations of Sub-Treasury, Independent Treasury, and Divorce of the State from Banks? What is it? Let us define it truly and clearly. Its whole principle consists in an exaction from the People of *specie*, in payment of all their duties and dues to Government, and the disbursement of *specie* by the Government, in payment of all salaries and of all the creditors of the Government. This is its simple and entire principle. Divest the bill under consideration of all its drapery and paraphernalia, this is its naked, unvarnished, and unexaggerated principle, according to its own friends. This exclusive use of *specie*, in all receipts and payments of the Government, it is true, is not to be instantaneously enforced; but that is the direct and avowed aim and object of the measure, to be accomplished gradually, but in the short space of a little more than three years. The twenty-eight sections of the bill, with all its safes, and vaults, and bars, and bolts, and receivers-general, and examiners, have nothing *more nor less* in view than the exaction of *specie* from the People, and the subsequent distribution of that *specie* among the officers of the Government and the creditors of the Government. It does not touch, nor profess to touch, the actual currency of the country. It leaves the local banks where it found them, unreformed, uncontrolled, unchecked in all their operations. It is a narrow, selfish, heartless measure. It turns away from the People, and abandons them to their hard inexorable fate; leaving them exposed to all the pernicious consequences of an unsound currency, utterly irregular and disordered exchanges, and the greatest derangement in all business. It is worse; it aggravates and perpetuates the very evils which the Government will not redress; for by the going into the market and creating a new and additional demand for *specie*, it cripples and disables the State banks, renders them incapable of furnishing that relief to the People which a parental Government is bound to exert all its energies and powers to afford. The divorce of the State from banks, of which its friends boast, is not the only separation which it makes—it is a separation of the Government from the constituency—a disunion of the interests of the servants of the People from the interests of the People.

This bill, then, is wholly incommensurate with the evils under which the country is suffering. It leaves them not only altogether unprovided for, but aggravates them. It carries no word of cheering hope or encouragement to a depressed People. It leaves their languishing business in the same state of hopeless discouragement."

The Sub-Treasury scheme is now called a Republican measure by the Democratic party, and all who oppose it are denounced as Federalists, when, but a few years ago, as we shall show, it was denounced by that party as a federal measure. Thus it will be seen, that whatever they advocate, however federal it may be, their defence of it makes it purely *Republican!* And whatever measure the Whigs advocate, however Republican it may be, by their defence of it, it becomes a *federal measure!*

When Gen. Gordon, of Virginia, first introduced the Sub-Treasury scheme into Congress, it was opposed by nearly the entire Locofoco party, and the following is the opinion expressed of its merits, by the Albany Argus, the great exponent of New York Democratic principles:—

“The germ of the Sub-Treasury system is founded in a report of *Alexander Hamilton* [that great Federalist,] to Congress in 1790. It was not a Republican measure *then*; on the contrary, it was denounced by the friends of the Administration, the professed followers of Jefferson, and by those, too, who are now so vociferous in its favor.”

The organ of Virginia Democracy, the Richmond Enquirer, thus took off the sub-Treasury scheme, when President Van Buren first proposed it:—

“We have objected to the Sub-Treasury system, so called, that in the first place, it will ENLARGE the *Executive power*, ALREADY TOO GREAT for a Republic; 2dly, that it contributes to endanger the *security of the public funds*—and 3dly, that it is calculated to produce two currencies; a *baser* one for the people, and a better one for the Government. The more we reflect on the matter, the more we read the speeches of the orators on both sides, the more firmly are we satisfied of the STRENGTH of these objections. THERE IS NO SECURITY IN IT, and it will involve HEAVY and unnecessary expense.”

In 1834, when Gen. Gordon had proposed this scheme, the Washington Globe newspaper, the true exponent of genuine Jacksonian Democracy, thus discoursed upon the *heterodoxy* of the measure—read it Democrats, and wonder!

“The proposition [the Sub-Treasury] is DISORGANIZING and REVOLUTIONARY, submersive of the fundamental principles of our government, and its entire practice from 1789 down to this day. It is as palpable as the sun, that the effect of the [Sub-Treasury] scheme would be to bring the public treasure much nearer the actual ‘custody and control of the President’ than it is now, and expose it to be plundered by a hundred hands, where one cannot now reach it!”

We will now show what a “*distinguished Democrat*” thought of this “*plant of foreign growth*,” in 1836, when it had been suggested by Gen. Gordon, and discussed in the Congress of the United States. Gen. Jackson—who, all will allow, is good Democratic authority—thus noticed the scheme in his Message to Congress, of Oct., 1836:—

“To retain public revenue in the Treasury, unemployed, in any way is *impracticable*. It is considered against the genius of our free institutions to lock up in the vaults the treasures of the nation. *Such a treasure would, doubtless, be employed at some time*, as it has been in other countries, *when opportunity tempted ambition.*”

“It is gratifying to reflect, however, that the credit given by the Government, whether to Bank paper or Bank agents, has been accompanied

by *smaller* losses in the experiences under the system of State Banks, in this country, at their worst periods, and under their severest calamities, than any other kind of credit the Government has ever given in relation to its pecuniary transactions."

LEVI WOODBURY, President Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury, and now a Democratic Senator in Congress, in his Report for Oct., 1835, *against* a Sub-Treasury, and in favor of State Banks, as depositories for the public funds, says:—

"INDIVIDUAL AGENTS WOULD PROBABLY BE FOUND LESS RESPONSIBLE, SAFE, CONVENIENT AND ECONOMICAL!"

In the House of Representatives, on the 10th of February, 1835, while the bill regulating the Deposits was under consideration, EX-GOVERNOR POLK delivered a speech *against* the Sub-Treasury, of which the following is an extract:—

"Whilst I am up, it may be well to notice some other propositions of amendment, which the House have been notified will be made to this bill, especially as I may not have another opportunity to address the House. A gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Gordon] has signified his intention to move the amendment to this bill which he presented and had printed by order of the House some days ago. That amendment provides that the 'collectors of the public revenue,' when the amounts collected are small, 'shall be agents of the Treasurer, to keep and disburse the same;' and that they shall receive annual compensation. It provides, further, that, at places where the amount collected shall be large, 'receivers' shall be appointed, 'to be agents of the Treasurer, to keep and disburse the public moneys,' and that they shall be paid an annual compensation for their services. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his Report, has not overlooked the description of personal agency here proposed, but has submitted to Congress his views in relation to it. He states that 'this kind of personal agency is, in his opinion, to be avoided in all practicable and safe cases, under our present system of selected Banks; because it would render the system less convenient, less secure, and more complex, if not more expensive.' * * *

* * * "Unless the States and the United States, should both deem it proper, gradually, and in the end entirely, to dispense with the paper system, and which result is not anticipated, the Government cannot escape occasional losses from that quarter, and can never have to escape all losses from Banks as fiscal agents, except by the employment, in their place, of other and individual agents, who will probably be found less responsible, safe, convenient or economical.' He concedes that it would be practicable to employ such agents, but does not recommend it, for the reasons stated in the paragraphs of the Report which I have read, and because it would not, 'in the present condition of things, be so eligible a system as the present one.'

"A corporation may be safer than any individual agent, however responsible he may be, because it consists of an association of individuals who have thrown together their aggregate wealth, and who are

bound in their corporate character, to the extent of their whole capital stock, for the deposit. In addition to this, the Secretary of the Treasury may require as heavy collateral security, in addition to their capital paid in, from such a corporation, as he could from an individual collector or receiver, which makes the Government SAFER IN THE HANDS OF A BANK THAN IT COULD BE WITH AN INDIVIDUAL.

It may be well questioned whether the heaviest security which the most wealthy individual could give, could make the public deposit safe at the point of large collection. In the city of New York half the revenue is collected. Several millions of public money may be in the hands of a receiver at one time; and if he be corrupt, or shall engage in speculation or trade, and meet with a reverse of fortune, the loss sustained by Government would be inevitable. With ample security, as it was supposed, the Government lost a million or more in the tea cases, a few years ago. The losses in the three cases alone, as already stated, in 1827 and 1828, when it was supposed ample care had been taken to secure the debt, amounted to near two millions. As, then, the responsibility of a public receiver and Bank corporations, as Banks do exist, and are likely to exist, under State authority, the latter upon grounds of SAFETY TO THE PUBLIC ARE TO BE PREFERRED.

“Banks, when they are safe, recommend themselves to the service of the Treasury for other reasons.

“1. The increased facility they possess over individual collectors or receivers, in making transfers of public money to distant points for disbursement, without charge to the public. Indeed, this is a service which individuals, to the extent of our large revenues, could not perform.

“2. It may happen in the fluctuation of the amount of revenue and expenditures, that there will be, at some times, a considerable surplus in the Treasury; which, though it may be temporary, if it be withdrawn from circulation, and placed in the strong box of a receiver, the amount of circulation will be injuriously disturbed, by hoarding the Deposits, by which the value of every article of merchandize and property would be affected. So that, inasmuch as we cannot anticipate or estimate what the exact amount of revenue may be from year to year, there may occur an excess of revenue in the Treasury, not immediately called for to be disbursed, which would be very inconvenient to abstract from trade and circulation. Whilst the Deposit is in Bank, the Bank may use it, and it is not withdrawn from the general circulation, as so much money hoarded and withdrawn from the use of the community.

“If in the hands of receivers, they must either hoard it, by keeping it locked up in a strong box, or use it at their own risk in private speculation or trade, or they must, for their own responsibility, place it at least on deposit in Banks for safe keeping, until they are called on by the Government for it.

“This temporary use of the money on deposit in a Bank, constitutes the only compensation which the Bank receives for the risk of keeping it, and for the services it performs. If receivers be employed,

they can perform no other service than to keep the money, and must be paid a compensation from the Treasury."

At this time, every one of these papers and politicians, call the Sub-Treasury a *Republican* measure, and call the Whigs Federalists because they oppose it. Ex-Governor Polk, it is well known to the people of Tennessee, is at this hour [June, 1843,] advocating the Sub Treasury on the stump, in opposition to a National Bank, and expects to be run on the ticket with Van Buren for the Vice Presidency! And what opinion does Mr. Van Buren entertain of the measure? Why, he extolled it to the skies, in his message to Congress, after it had been in operation one year—said that it had been adopted "by twenty two out of twenty-seven foreign governments," where, as here, he said it had "worked well!" Now, reader, allow us to ask you, and do us the kindness, and yourself the justice to answer—what reliance can be placed in a party, or a set of party leaders, who change their tests of Republicanism almost every year? What reliance can a person put in a party which makes men who have never changed, at one time *Republicans*, and at another time *Federalists*?

The very *derivation* itself, of the term Sub-Treasury, shows it to be a *Federal* measure. *Sub* signifies *under*, and the Sub-Treasury system means a system under the management of the Treasurer of the United States; and the Treasurer being *under* the President, the system consequently gives to the President the people's purse.

CHAPTER XII.

A CANDID STATEMENT OF THE FACTIOUS CONDUCT OF THE "IMMORTAL THIRTEEN" SENATORS OF THE TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE, IN REFUSING TO ELECT UNITED STATES SENATORS—TO WHICH IS ADDED A HISTORY OF THE ELECTION OF SENATORS TO CONGRESS, IN TENNESSEE, FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE DOWN TO THE PRESENT DATE—ALSO, POLK'S ENDORSEMENT OF THIS VILE AND REVOLUTIONARY CONDUCT—WITH CONCLUDING REMARKS, &c.

THE history of American Legislation furnishes no case in which the will of the People has been so grossly outraged, as in the flagitious conduct of the faithless and factious "IMMORTAL THIRTEEN" impracticable and destructive Senators in the late Legislature of Tennessee, in defeating the election of United States Senators. This *gross outrage*, too, upon the laws, usages, honor, and constitution, was inflicted by men *professing* to bow with calm submission to the will and wishes of the People—by a *forsworn faction* of the self-styled Democracy of the State—the ardent lovers and friends of the "*dear People!*"

For the particulars of the hypocrisy, intrigue, and outrageous conduct, of the Locofoco party in the Legislature of this State, on this subject, we call the attention of the reader to an editorial we wrote about that time and published in the Jonesborough Whig, of February 9th, 1842. This article embodies all the material facts in the case, and is in the "following words and figures, to-wit:—"

[From the Jonesborough Whig of February 9th 1842.]

"KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE"—That after a long and animated contest in Tennessee, for Governor and members of the General Assembly, in which the party test was fairly and fully made, the Whigs succeeded in electing a Governor, by a majority of more than *three thousand votes*, and upon joint ballot, they had a majority of *two* in the Legislature.

Keep it before the People—That this same State was then, as it is now, without Senators in Congress, being wholly unrepresented in the National Legislature—that the party in the majority in the General Assembly as well as throughout the State—made repeated efforts to go into the election of Senators, but were as often defeated by the reckless, disorganizing minority, calling themselves *Democrats*.

Keep it before the People—That after the real sovereigns, of one SAM^{UEL} TURNER'S District, five hundred of a majority of whom are Whigs,

instructed him to vote in the Senate, to bring on the election of Senators, he reluctantly done so, and thereby the so called Democratic majority of that body was overcome, and the election was ordered to be held on a certain day.

Keep it before the People—That when the appointed day arrived, and the Whig Senators started into the Hall of the House, accompanied by this aforesaid Turney, every other Senator of the Locofoco stripe, remained in their chamber and utterly refused to join the House, and a majority of their own body, in electing Senators to Congress, because, forsooth, they could not elect two men who would *misrepresent* the wishes of the General Assembly, and of a majority of the people of the State.

Keep it before the People—That the Convention of the two houses, repeatedly sent the door-keeper into the Senate chamber after these disorganizers, apprising them of their readiness to discharge an obligation imposed upon them by their oaths, and by the CONSTITUTION of Tennessee, and inviting their co-operation—but these rebellious vagrants, as repeatedly returned them insulting verbal and written answers.

Keep it before the People—That when the House attempted to organize, and with the majority of the Senators, who had consented to an election, proceed to business, some twenty odd other disorganizers, members of the House, gathered their hats and canes, and left the Hall—crossed over into the Senate chamber—joined those spirits of the same kidney—took other by the hand, laughed and sneered—thus breaking the quorum, and defeating the wishes of the people.

Keep it before the People—That this disgraceful scene was acted over, and over again, four days together, without effecting an election—and that, besides, this same party caused *twelve* other days to be consumed in the discussion of this question, in all *sixteen days*, at an expense to the State of *six hundred dollars per day*, making the round sum of NINE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS!

Keep it before the People—That the perpetrators of this foul deed took the ground, from first to last, that there was no express law of the State requiring the convention of the two Houses to elect Senators, though it had been the custom of the State, as it has been of every State in the Union, from time immemorial.

Keep it before the People—That the aforesaid Turney, a Locofoco representing a Whig district, and under instructions from his constituents, introduced a bill in the Senate, where his party had a majority of *one*, to enact the necessary law to convene the two houses, hoping, in the absence of one Whig, that the bill would be *lost*, though he should himself vote for it—but that Senator returning to his post, very unexpectedly Turney bolted and voted against his own bill!

Keep it before the People—That this same General Assembly adjourned, after a session of four months, without electing United States Senators—that the same set met in Extra Session since, and again utterly refused to elect Senators to Congress—and that this State is unrepresented in that body, and must so remain at least for a while, say

tell the People at the approaching August election, send honest men to Nashville to legislate.

Keep it before the People—That such an outrage has never been committed in any State in the Union, since the organization of this Government—and that, beside the reckless Locofoco papers of this State, the *Globe*, the most venal and prostituted sheet in America, is the only paper, of any party which has dared to advocate the conduct of these “thirteen Senators,” and their kindred spirits in the House.

Keep it before the People—That this dastardly and degradingly revolutionary conduct, is the conduct of the enemies of freedom and the friends of despotism, in its most hideous forms—and that all who were concerned therein, deserves the scorn, contempt and everlasting hatred of all honest men, and under their lashes should be made to writhe the remainder of their days.

Keep it before the People—That however much these miscreants may quibble, or try to excuse themselves, they are guilty of the violation of their OATHS—of the State constitution, and of the most barefaced treachery and that the election of any such men, in future, would be one of the greatest *curse*s that could fall upon any people.

We next propose to give a history of the election of Senators to Congress, from Tennessee, for a period of *Forty-five years*—and we beg the reader, of whatever politics—and a candid and impartial Public, to arraign these ardent lovers of the People, the Law's and Constitution, and see with what *plea* they justify such conduct—such *revolutionary*, high-handed, factious, destructive conduct.

The public are called upon to bear in mind, that from the very earliest period of Tennessee's existence as a State, her Legislature elected Senators to Congress, by a *joint vote* of both Houses in Convention assembled. In this way and *in no other*, the Journals of each Session shows,—

1. Joseph Anderson, elected in	1798.
2. Daniel Smith “	1799.
3. Joseph Anderson re-elected	1803.
4. Daniel Smith, “	1805.
5. Jenkin Whiteside, elected	1809.
6. Joseph Anderson, re-elected	1809.
8. G. W. Campbell, elected	1811.
7. G. W. Campbell, re-elected	1816.
9. John Williams, elected	1815.
10. John Williams, re-elected	1817.
11. John H. Eaton, elected	1819.
vice Campbell	
12. John H. Eaton, re-elected	1821.
13. Andrew Jackson “	1823.
vice Williams.	
14. Hugh L. White, “	1825.
vice Jackson (by a unanimous vote.)	

15. Hugh L. White, re-elected	1829.
16 Felix Grundy, elected	1829.
{ John H. Eaton,	1831. }
	1831. }
	1831. }
voted for in Convention thirty times and no election.	
17. Felix Grundy, re-elected	1833.
18 Hugh L. White, re-elected	1835.
19. Ephraim H Foster, "	1837.
20 Felix Grundy, Nov. 19.	1837.
vice Foster.	
21. Felix Grundy, Dec. 14,	1839.
vice Grundy, resigned.	
22. Alexander Anderson, Jan. 9,	1840.
vice White.	

Here then gentle reader, are TWENTY TWO Legislative elections of United States Senators, since the organization of our State,—*every one*,—without a solitary exception, being by *Joint Ballot* of the two Houses, giving us a practice of *Forty-five years*—the usage of this, and all other States, the sanction of the United States, ever since the formation of the General Government, and the sanction of such *names* as GEORGE WASHINGTON CAMPBELL, JOHN WILLIAMS, JOHN H. EATON, ANDREW JACKSON, HUGH L. WHITE, FELIX GRUNDY, and EPHRAIM H. FOSTER!

But what other authority? Why in addition to this, the Whig party, who contend for electing Senators in the *old way*, have the *Constitution* on their side, positively requiring the Legislatures of the different States, to elect United States Senators. Let the reader examine for himself:

Art. II. 3.

"1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators, from each State, chosen by the Legislatures thereof *for six years*:"

2. "And if vacancies happen by resignation, or *otherwise*, during the recess of the Legislature in any State, the Executive thereof, may make temporary appointments untill the next meeting of the Legislature, *which SHALL THEN FILL SUCH VACANCIES*."

Sect. IV.

"1. The times, places and manner of holding the elections for Senators and Representative shall be prescribed in each State, by the Legislature thereof."

What candid Democrat, what candid man of any party, with these facts before his eyes, can approve the conduct of these *revolutionary disorganizers*? No candid man, or honest politician will do it. But JAMES K. POLK, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Tennessee,

very recently, in an extraordinary *missile*, being an answer to what are known in this State, by the title of the "Memphis Interrogatories," COMPLETELY AND FULLY ENDORSED THE CONDUCT OF THE "THIRTEEN," touching this subject! His answer occupies *nine columns* in the "Memphis Appeal;" and in his answer to the last interrogatory, he SHOULDERS the responsibility, in effect acknowledging that HE led in that outrage! Hear his own words:—

"Our practice has been to elect (Senators) by *joint ballot*. in other States a different mode has been adopted, and in some of them the practice has been to choose by the *concurrent* vote of the two Houses—*each House acting in its separate and distinct Legislative character*, as it does in passing laws or performing any other Legislative act. Senators elected in each of these modes have been permitted to take their seats and serve as such—no constitutional question as to the "manner" of their election, so far as I know, having been raised. I think then in the absence of a Legislative provision prescribing the "*manner*" that it rests in the sound discretion of *each House of the Legislature, to select the mode or manner, which in its judgement will subserve the public interest*." The mode by *concurrent vote of each House* is concededly constitutional, and if by insisting upon it as the preferable mode—that be the only means of effecting a great public good, or preventing a great public injury—such as preventing the election of persons to the Senate of the United States who CONCEAL THEIR OPINIONS upon public subjects interesting to the people, and who refuse to make them known, or to say whether they admit or deny the right of instruction, when respectfully interrogated upon these points by any portion of the constituent body. In such cases, or similar, I hold that either branch of the Legislature, would not only be JUSTIFIED in adhering, but it would be due to the rights of their constituents whose interests were to be deeply affected that they SHOULD ADHERE TO THE MANNER, by which these rights would be protected and preserved."

That the Public may know who the "THIRTEEN" are and be enabled to hold them up to the gaze, scorn and contempt, of all honest and honorable men, we present their names, with their respective counties annexed, in bold relief. Honest men of all parties, understanding the facts in the refusal of the "thirteen" to elect Senators, must regard their conduct as the grossest outrage upon the rights of the people, ever perpetrated in a civilized country, especially by the *minority* of a Legislative body. Most of these men are now candidates before the very people whose rights they have trodden under foot, for re-election, but whether they are to be rebuked or sustained, remains to be seen on the 3d of August next. We appeal to the Republican in *heart*—not in *word*—to the honest lovers of representative rights, of all parties—to stand forth and show to the authors of this outrage upon the rights of the MAJORITY of the people and their representatives, that such

conduct will not be tolerated. We appeal to dispassionate men, men who love their country, and desire their country's good, to set their faces against such *outlaws* as are presented within these *black lines* :

THIRTEEN BLACK KNIGHTS!

Samuel Turney, of *White County*.

J. P. Hardwicke, of *Dickson County*.

S. H. Laughlin, of *Warren County*.

T. J. Matthews, of *Lawrence County*.

Andrew Johnson, of *Greene County*.

Richard Warner, of *Bedford County*,

W. T. Ross, of *Lincoln County*.

Sackfield Maclin, of *Fayette County*.

John (Sack) Miller, of *McMinn County*.

Robert W. Powell, of *Carter County*.

Barkley Martin, of *Maury County*.

John A. Gardner, of *Weakly County*.

Richard Watterhouse, of *Rhea County*.

There are one or more topics, connected with this grave question, upon which we desire to make a passing remark or so, and then we are done with the subject, at least for the present. The only pretext for this revolutionary conduct, and unprecedented outrage, are, first, that Messrs. FOSTER & JARNAGIN, who were understood to be the Whig candidates, or rather we should say, the choice of the Whig party in the State, refused to answer the insulting and inquisitorial question propounded to them, by these "*Black Knights*;" and next, it is urged that the Whig members of the Legislature refused to "compromise," and elect a Senator from the ranks of each political party, which the "*thirteen*" would have agreed to, without an avowal of opinions from either! As to those who put the questions to Messrs. Foster & Jarnagin, it was well understood by them, that they were determined to vote against them; that they did not ask for their opinions in good faith—they having learned their opinions on the stump, as they had just canvassed the whole State

—and that neither these gentlemen or their friends expected or desired them to vote for them, or in any way promote their election to the U. States Senate. This pretext, then, for *thirteen* members having controlled *eighty-seven others*, in that they prevented an election, falls to the ground, as flimsy and unworthy the serious consideration of honest men.

As to the proposition for a "*compromise*," the like never was heard of before in the State, till a resolution to this effect was introduced by Mr. LAUGHLIN, and amended by Mr. WATERHOUSE. (See Senate Journal, page 709-'10.) And the inconsistency of these men will appear, when it is seen, by examining their resolution, that they proposed to elect one Senator from the Whig party, and one from the Democratic party, *without requiring them to answer any questions, from any source!*—Beside, the Whig party had carried the State in the Presidential election the year before, by a majority of TWELVE THOUSAND, and again, in a fiercely contested battle, the preceeding August, they had elected a Whig Governor, by a majority of more than THREE THOUSAND, and upon joint ballot, they had a majority in the Legislature—hence, they were entitled to both Senators or none.

But in concluding this chapter, we propose to show, that these "*Black Knights*," in censuring the *silence* of Messrs. Foster & Jarnagin, condemn the doctrine taught by their great leader, MARTIN VAN BUREN. In a letter to Sherrod Williams, dated April 20th, 1836, Mr. Van Buren says:—

"The duty of a candidate for the suffrages of the people to answer in full all enquiries made by an elector undetermined as to his course, and *seeking, in good faith, information* as to the opinions of the candidate, touching the appropriate duties of the office to be filled, is one which I cheerfully acknowledge and will upon all occasions faithfully discharge.

"The rights of an elector, on the other hand, *who has already determined to oppose the individual to whom his enquiries are addressed and who makes them with the sole view of exposing, at his own time, and in the mode he may select, the opinions of the candidate to unfriendly criticism, and the candidate himself to prejudice in the estimation of portions of his fellow-citizens*, STAND IN MY JUDGMENT, UPON A DIFFERENT FOOTING. To such enquiries, I hold the candidate to be at liberty to REPLY OR NOT, as justice to his country, and to his own character may in *his opinion* dictate."

After introducing the foregoing extract, in an article on this same subject, the Republican Banner, justly remarks:—

"Now what are the facts as to the interrogatories propounded to Messrs. Foster and Jarnagin? It is well known that those who put the questions were "already determined to oppose" their election—that

they did not seek information 'in good faith'—that the opinions of Messrs. Foster and Jarnagin, who had just canvassed the whole State, were well known—that the "sole view" of the interrogators was to "expose, at their own time, and in the mode they might select, the opinions" of Messrs. F. and J. "to unfriendly criticism" and those gentlemen themselves "to prejudice in the estimation of portions of their fellow-citizens." So regarding the inquisitorial questions put to them, the insult of which was heightened by a THREAT to prevent the election unless they would answer, they had the right to "REPLY OR NOT" as they chose."

✍ Locofoco prints still designate Messrs. Foster and Jarnagin as "dumb candidates." Why more so than Messrs. Nicholson and Polk? Mr. Nicholson was confessedly a "candidate," and Mr. Polk will hardly deny that his friends earnestly sought to make him Senator; yet, neither of these gentlemen answered the interrogatories propounded. One of the "thirteen," openly confessed Mr. Nicholson a candidate in his place in the Senate—where is there to be found such evidence that Messrs. Foster and Jarnagin were candidates?

"*The interrogatories will be proposed to Mr. Nicholson,*" boldly exclaimed Mr. Senator Ross; "*it was not the object to arraign and try any PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL.*"

Indeed! Then why did not Mr. Nicholson *answer*? Why attempt to "arraign and try" Messrs. Foster and Jarnagin, and at the same time suffer Mr. Nicholson to escape; for precisely the same omission? Do our opponents expect any advantage from such open humbuggery?—*Whig Banner.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BANKRUPT LAW--A DEMOCRATIC MEASURE--EVIDENCE OF THE FACT

FROM first to last, we have advocated, with whatever of ability we possessed, this humane law—this beneficent and judicious act of legislation. A law, we scruple not to say, which is indispensable in all civilized governments. Moreover, among the Whig editors in Tennessee, we alone took the field in defence of this law. We did it previous to the Presidential election—we did it after the law was passed at the extra session of Congress, and we have continued to advocate the measure, even since its repeal.

We never availed ourselves of the benefits of the law, and never intended to do so, though urged to it by several estimable friends. Our liabilities are greater than we can meet, but they are not our own—they are *security debts*, and in *justice* we might have become an applicant for the benefit of this law. We have advocated the law, then, not from *interest*, but from *principle*, as indeed we have all other leading measures of the day, which we have discussed.

We profess not to have a heart callous to every generous sympathy of human nature, and therefore, we have constantly appeared in defence of this compassionate measure; next, we have gone for it on *Scriptural* grounds. The doctrine of *forgiving debtors*, was a part of the religion of the Old Testament, as it is also of the New. From time immemorial, debtors have been "*discharged*" from their liabilities at stated periods. God himself first proclaimed a "*Uniform System of Bankruptcy*," for the government of his peculiar and favorite people, the Jews; and not only did the Prophets of old teach the principles of this beneficent law, but Christ and his Apostles enforced its precepts.

The truth is, that the 15th chapter of the book of Deuteronomy, is nothing more or less than the *Jewish Bankrupt Law*, differing only in its *phraseology* from the late law of Congress. That was called the *sabatical year of release*: ours is called the *year of discharges from liabilities*, &c. The first provision of this *Mosaic law of bankruptcy* is in these words:—

“At the end of *every* seven years thou shalt make a *release*. And

this is the manner of the release: every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbor shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbor, or of his brother; because it is called the LORD'S release."

Here it will be seen, that what our law terms a *certificate of discharge*, the law of Moses called "*the Lord's release!*"

The next provision of the Jewish law worthy of particular notice, is at the 7th and 8th verses, and is in these words:—

"If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, within any of thy gates in thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother: But thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him and thou shalt surely lend him SUFFICIENT FOR HIS NEED, IN THAT WHICH HE WANTETH."

This section of *God's ancient Bankrupt Law*, like the late law of Congress, provided for the setting apart, by an *Assignee*, whatever was deemed necessary for the comfort and support of the family of the Bankrupt.

But the length to which the principles of the Bankrupt Law were carried, under the Old Testament dispensation, was such, that it was absolutely a maxim among the ancient people of God, that no man should lie down in his bed at night, without forgiving the liabilities of his neighbor—without a willingness to rise up in the morning rub out and begin anew! There was no such thing as objecting to the petition of a Bankrupt in those days: and in this respect that law was superior to ours, in the present day.

Our adorable Saviour, in his universal prayer, which involves the compass of our intercourse with God, and which may well be denominated an assemblage of doctrinal perfection, embodies the spirit and principles of a *Uniform System of Bankruptcy*, is the spirit and principles on which alone men can expect their final *discharge* from the bondage of sin and death. The petition is in these words—"And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." Some learned Commentators say, that this petition should be rendered *forgive us our debts; for we forgive those who are indebted to us*. If this be so, how dare those members of the Church, who rail out against unfortunate Bankrupts, pray thus to God and tell him a downright lie? Other learned Commentators have thought that the petition implies, "Make my forgiveness of *an unfortunate debtor*" the measure of *thy forgiveness to me*:—with the same measure I meet to *others* let it be measured to *me*." Well, how do we forgive others? We denounce them as scoundrels, swindlers and thieves. We appoint Committees, who report that they should not be allowed to hold an official station in the Church! Well, just so we pray that God may deal with us! We desire no intercourse with a

Bankrupt neighbor ; we will not credit him for a *ninepence* : just so we pray God to deal with us ! And says our Saviour, dwelling on this passage with a peculiar emphasis,—“ If ye forgive not *men their debts*, neither will your Father forgive *your debts*.”

Once more : men who apply to God, through Christ, for a *discharge* from their long and heavy indebtedness to him, “without money and without price,” and oppose the “*release*” of a fellow mortal, who owes them but an inconsiderable amount, are very inconsistent. A sinner has less wherewith to *pay* his God the debts he owes him, than many of the Bankrupts in this country have to pay off their creditors with : if his debts be not forgiven, they must stand charged against him forever, as he is absolutely *insolvent* ; and if the Reverend Attornies, who “labor in word and doctrine,” to obtain a *certificate of discharge*, for the sinner in the High Court of Heaven, were to tax him with such fees as are required of Bankrupts here, why, Hell would be his portion. But the Bankrupt law in force, in the Government of God, fortunately for the moral Bankrupt, transfers the credits in his case, from justice to mercy. According to the Gospel plan of Bankruptcy, which is a display of the divine perfections, it is only necessary that the sinner *repent* for his indebtedness to God—become *sorry* for his *liabilities*, and believe in the willingness and ability of his Great Creditor to forgive his debts, and he is at once set at liberty. But if a poor Bankrupt in this country, under the late law of Congress, and especially among a portion of the Locofocos, “repents in sackcloth and ashes,” believing “with all his heart,” in the ability of his earthly creditor to forgive him, he will scarcely let him have jubilee !

[From the Tuscaloosa Monitor]

ADVANTAGES OF THE BANKRUPT LAW.—The consequences that will flow from this beneficent and judicious act of legislation, will, in a few years, prove such as its friends and supporters had in view—the release of men from bondage, and a dividend among creditors, exceeding, generally, what they would otherwise have obtained. That many bankrupts, who have availed themselves of the benefit of the law, have returned no assets with their petitions, is true, because it was their misfortune to be deprived, by legal process, of all they had, or they voluntarily surrendered it to their creditors. To suppose that a man after final prostration, could recover, when old debts, constantly increasing in amount were suspended over him, would require a better field for gain than this country at present affords, and more forbearance and sympathy on the part of others, than there is reason to expect. Men are not so constituted as to labor freely and thriftily, when the product of their toil is liable to be swept away for that which has been no benefit to them, but on the contrary, has caused their ruin. Such is the character of most debts which are exhibited in the schedules of bankrupts

Under this view of the case, who can possibly be injured by the bankrupt law? Not creditors, for all is given up to them before the law will afford protection to the petitioner: and it is clear that a man, let him be ever so honest is powerless, while the chains of debt, that worst form of slavery, are galling him every moment of his life. The law in question will do much to prevent immorality; for thousands of the unfortunate who will now be free, would in the absence of such a law, have been driven to desperation, and not only destroyed themselves by vice, as the easiest mode of ending their troubles, but by the contagion of their example would have drawn myriads of youth into the same vortex of ruin. There is no aspect in which the bankrupt law can be considered but what its tendency is beneficial to both creditors and debtors. It is time and thought uselessly expended, to moan over the calamities of debt after a man is once its victim. He looks around and sees the indifference, nay the cruel delight with which his situation is regarded by a large portion of the community. Let him, then gather up courage enough to burst his shackles and once restored to liberty, he will avoid the malestrom which in its distant circles is scarcely perceived but as the unhappy voyager goes on, the circles contract and gather momentum, until he is aroused to danger, not in time to escape, but to witness his own destruction. We say then, it is the duty of every man who knows that his debts exceed his means, to square off under the bankrupt law, and if fortune is propitious he will be the more able to render justice to his creditors. As to any disgrace to a man's character, for having so acted. It is all imaginary. We know there are some tyrants, misanthropes and ignorant people that pretend to look upon the Bankrupt Law with horror, and all those who seek its benefits as dishonorable; but such creatures have as little moral influence as their hearts are callous to every generous sympathy of human nature—Bankrupts be of good cheer. Bear up steadily under your trials and mortifications; do not be discouraged. You have experience which is better to start upon fresh in the world, than a fortune without experience.

[From the Jonesborough Whig of 1842.]

THE BANKRUPT LAW.—Denunciations of the Bankrupt Law is now the order of the day in East Tennessee, with the Locofoco Presses and leaders. Indeed it is their favorite theme, since Ex-Gov. Polk opened against it at Rogersville. By raising a great dust on this subject, they hope to effect two objects, first to excite the prejudices of the people against the Whigs; and next, to conceal from public gaze, their own political sins. We have, therefore, seated ourself this one time more, for the purpose of troubling Democracy on this point, which we have it completely in our power to do. And now for it.

NUMBER ONE.—In the House of Representatives, in Congress, January 3, 1815, Mr. Ingersol, a notorious Locofoco, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a bill to establish *a uniform system of Bankruptcy throughout the United States.*

NUMBER TWO.—On the 5th day of September, 1837, (extra Session) Martin Van Buren, a Democratic President of the United

States, recommended in his Message to both Houses of Congress, the passage of a *uniform Bankrupt Law*, to apply in particular to *Banks and Bankers!*

NUMBER THREE.—On the 5th of September, 1837. Mr. Van Buren's *Democratic* Secretary of the Treasury, made a report to Congress, praying the passage of a *uniform Bankrupt Law*, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NUMBER FOUR.—On the 13th day of January, 1840, Mr NORVELL, a Democratic Senator from Michigan, moved that the Judiciary be instructed to enquire into the expediency of reporting a bill for the establishment of a *General Bankrupt Law*.

NUMBER FIVE.—On the 22nd. of April, 1840, GARRET D. WALL, a flaming Democratic Senator in Congress, reported certain amendments to a Bankrupt Law, from a minority of the Committee, which were referred to the Senate's select Committee, and reported by Mr. Wall, and passed—21 to 19, and sent to the House.

NUMBER SIX.—In the Senate, July 23, 1841, Mr. NICHOLSON, a Democratic Senator from Tennessee, delivered an able speech in favor of a uniform system of Bankruptcy, and moved to amend the bill then pending, by inserting "BANKS AND OTHER CORPORATIONS," which motion was lost, by a vote of 34 to 16.

NUMBER SEVEN.—That great light of Democracy, COL. RICHARD M. JOHNSON, late Vice President of the United States, wrote and spoke in favor of a General Bankrupt Law. In a letter of his now before us, dated, Washington, January 18, 1841, he says speaking of such a law, "*My opinion is that it will redound to the honor of our country.*"

NUMBER EIGHT.—We now introduce a still greater name, whose authority no *Democrat* dare question—we mean GEN. JACKSON. In February, 1840, a committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Ohio Legislature, invited Gen. Jackson to unite with them in the celebration of the ensuing anniversary of American Independence. To this invitation, Gen. Jackson replied under date of the 11th of May 1840, and in allusion to a system of relief says:

"If in addition to this reform of our financial system, Congress would at the same time pass a GENERAL BANKRUPT LAW, by which the banks now in existence, or may be hereafter chartered by the States *would be bound to make an equitable distribution of their effects to their creditors*, when they refuse to redeem their notes with specie, it cannot be doubted that there would be an end to the evils of a depreciated paper currency."

NUMBER NINE.—In the TENNESSEE SENTINEL, a Locofoco paper published in Jonesborough, and under the editorial head, of the date of February 12, 1842, we find the following *bulger*:

"This [the Bankrupt Law] is a measure to which BOTH THE WHIG AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES STAND WITH BUT FEW EXCEPTIONS OPPOSED."

NUMBER TEN.—Two *Democratic* Senators in Congress, Messrs WALKER and WILLIAMS, by their votes, on the 28th day of January, 1842, prevented the repeal of the “odious bankrupt law.” And the “*immortal thirteen*,” in the General Assembly of Tennessee, did the same thing, by obstinately refusing to elect Senators to Congress.

In conclusion—we ask every candid man in the country, *who* has gone for the Bankrupt Law from first to last, and through thick and thin? We ask *who* are responsible for this law, the Whigs or Locofocos? And we ask, in all sincerity, if the present so called Democratic party, are not the last set of men on earth, who should rail out against the law? Reader, look at the *facts* in this case as we have given them referring you to chapter and verse, day and date—and not to the *lies* of designing men.—Hold these “self-evident” truths before the leaders of Democracy, and then “*Let the galled jade wince!*”

[From the Nashville Banner.]

MR. VAN BUREN'S OPINIONS OF A BANKRUPT LAW.—On the 13th August, 1840, a letter was addressed to Mr. Van Buren, by Messrs. S. L. Danfield, Wm. H. Brasher, and other citizens of New York, interrogating him as to his opinions with reference to a general Bankrupt Law. Extracts from his reply dated Washington, Sept. 14, 1840, we present below—which fully explain the kinds of law referred to, and the positions of the Ex President thereon:

“The subject, as now pending before the country and as embraced in your questions, presents itself in several points of view.

First, As to a General Bankrupt Law, applicable to bankers and traders only.

Second, As to the propriety of subjecting corporations to its operation; and

Third, As to the propriety of embracing voluntarily or involuntarily, all other classes within its provisions.

It is a rule, the sacred observance of which is indispensable to the well being of Society, that Government should never interfere with private contracts even when the authority to do so is conferred by the Constitution, except upon the ground of evident public necessity and then with a degree of caution and circumspection which shall guard in an effectual manner against fraud and injustice. That occasions may arise when those who have the rightful power to interfere, *may do so, and are required to do so, by a regard for the best interests of the community*, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT. *I thought there was occasion for such an interference in 1827, and gave my vote for a general Bankrupt Law*, applicable to bankers and traders, classes which all agree, were intended to be embraced by the clause of the constitution relating to this subject. An occasion of at least equal urgency for such a law *exists at this time*. The embarrassments caused by the pernicious expansion of the currency, and the consequent facilities of credit and cash enterprises, which have unfortunately characterized the last few years, *are such as to render an interference of this kind greatly cor-*

dubive, IF NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO THE PUBLIC GOOD. I WOULD THEREFORE HAVE UNHESITATINGLY, CO-OPERATED AT THE LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS, IN THE PASSAGE OF SUCH A LAW, properly guarded against frauds, and so framed as to secure to the creditors the present estate of their debtors, when the latter were discharged from their obligations."

• • • • •

"It would constitute no objection with me, if corporations were, in proper form, embraced by the provisions of such a bill."

• • • • •

"Objections to the power of Congress to pass a voluntary bankrupt law applicable to all classes of debtors, have been principally founded on the following considerations."

[Following in this connexion he enumerates the points of argument both *for* and *against* it, which we of course omit as foreign to the illustration of his own position.]

• • • • •

"The evils of a Bankrupt Law, with such an extended range, would, it is justly to be feared, more than counterbalance the benefits it might otherwise produce. I am not aware that any government has deemed it wise or safe to extend the operations of a bankrupt law, to all these classes of its citizens or subjects. I am well aware that these latter objections are sought to be obviated by making the operations of this part of the law voluntary only. But it well deserves to be remembered, that such a law would be but the entering wedge—the first movement of Congress in a new direction, under a general power, and no one can tell what might be the next."

Thus it is apparent that Mr. Van Buren is for a worse Bankrupt Law than that which passed Congress. He is for a "general Bankrupt Law *applicable to Bankers and Traders*" (embracing of course, merchants, factors, and many other classes of private citizens) including "banking incorporations. But excluding other classes of citizens, equally meritorious, such as farmers, mechanics, &c., from its operations. He is opposed to extending the law to "*all* classes of debtors," but agrees to embrace a few favored and generally moneyed classes, to the exclusion of all small debtors.

This odious distinction he seems to wish to palliate, when he *intimates* that were the law, as applicable to farmers, mechanics, and other small debtors, made "voluntary only," (the precise condition of the law passed) it would be unobjectionable, only as it might prove an entering wedge to something worse hereafter. But it must be allowed that he no where distinctly approves such an extension of the law to "all classes." The extent of his wishes is, a general Bankrupt Law, applicable so bankers and traders."

Senator Benton, it is well known, voted for a *retrospective* Bankrupt Law, in 1827. He still maintained his position in 1840, in a speech in the Senate. In that speech, as the following extract will show, he was the advocate of the *voluntary* feature :

"*I am ready to assist in forming an act which shall be general in its provisions, and just in its application—which shall do justice to the creditor as well as to the debtor—which shall be compulsory with regard to traders and dealers, whether natural or artificial—which shall be optional with other classes of the community,*" §c. §c. (See Ap. Con. Globe, p. 505.)

In another speech in the Senate in 1840, he said,

"Persons who are *not* merchants or traders, have been carried away by the spirit of the times, and have been involved in debts from which they see no means of extrication. These have a right to the relief of a bankrupt law, as well as those regularly engaged in trade, at the same time they should not be subject to the compulsory application of the law. With them the application of the law should be *voluntary and optional* : it should only be applied to them on their *own petition* ; while with those regularly engaged in trade, and particularly bound to know the laws of trade, and obey these laws, the application of the law should be compulsory, and should take effect upon the petition of a given proportion of their creditors. This extension of the principles of the act would make it *universal in its application to persons* ; its extension to *corporations* would be all that would be wanting to make it entirely national, and fitly applicable to every case in which the relation of debtor and creditor existed. (See Congressional Globe, p. 237.)

But *Old Federal Democratic Senator Wall*, of New Jersey, made a speech on this subject, at the same time, and said, and we would call especial attention to his language :

"The country demands that relief of Congress which they suppose they can constitutionally apply. They have, in numerous petitions, clearly and explicitly made known the *remedy* which they suppose can and ought to be granted. *It is the passage of an uniform law on the subject of bankruptcy.*"

"The first movement on the subject of a bankrupt law, made during the present session, proceeded from my honorable (democratic) friend from Michigan, (Mr. Norvell.) * He is entitled to the merit, whatever it may be, of first presenting the subject for the consideration of this body. It seems to have awakened the attentions of the whole country, from one extremity to the other. There were soon on the files of the Judiciary Committee, fifty one petitions, praying for the passage of an uniform law on the subject of bankruptcy, twenty-nine of which are from N. York, five from New Jersey, two from Indiana, two from Massachusetts, three from Ohio, and one from each of the States of Tennessee and Mississippi. There are twenty-five other petitions, praying for the passage of a general bankrupt law or using some equivalent expression to uniform or general ; fifteen of which are from

New York, eight from Pennsylvania, four from Illinois, one from each of the States of Ohio, Maine, and New Hampshire, three from Mississippi, and two from Alabama. Resolutions have also been passed by the Legislatures of Maine and Michigan, in favor of the same measure." (See Ap. Con. Globe, p. 460.)

Mr. Wall makes mention of that prominent *Democratic* Senator from Michigan, Mr. Norvell, having first introduced this *glorious relief* measure; and we will here introduce his strong commendation, in an extract from his (Mr. Norvell's) speech, delivered on the 20th of May, 1840:

"Mr. President, said Mr. N. my deep conviction is, that no legislation, no measure, no combination of measures that we can adopt, would afford *one tenth part of the relief to the country* which will be secured to it by the passage of a *uniform law of Bankruptcy*. * "The process of *voluntary bankruptcy* affords an *effective and lasting relief* to the debtor, upon the honest surrender of his effects for the benefit of his creditors, and protects his future acquisitions of property. He can begin the world anew." * "The vivifying principle of relief *ought to be extended to all; to the cottage of the farmer and the humble dwelling of the mechanic*, as well as to the princely palace of the merchant." Again—"No benefit could accrue to the nation from a bankrupt law merely prospective in its operation on future contracts." * "The Supreme Court has also repeatedly decided that the power to pass bankrupt laws retrospective in their operation, was constitutional." (See Ap. Con. Globe, p. 464-5.)

Col. R. M. Johnson, the late Democratic Vice President, as we have already shown, is the advocate of the *retrospective* feature in this law, so much complained of. While a Senator in Congress, from Kentucky, in 1827, he voted for a Bankrupt bill then before the Senate, embracing this feature. He has taken still stronger ground since. In his famous letter of 1839, already alluded to, he says:

"Credit in trade is based upon confidence in the success of him who obtains it, and ought not in any degree to depend upon a contingent right which the creditor may claim on the liberty or the future independence of the debtor. If he chance to be unsuccessful, all that they can claim is a faithful surrender of his remaining effects. Let him give these and begin the world again. What is the effect of subjecting his future acquisitions to the seizure of his creditors? It is to stifle in him the spirit of enterprise and to bind him and his family down to perpetual poverty, without the remotest prospect of benefit to his creditors or to society."

"We should provide a uniform system of bankruptcy upon as liberal principles as justice will warrant—and as experience shall show its imperfections, we should give it such consideration and amendment as will be found equitable. I SHOULD EXPECT ITS PROVISIONS TO BE EXTENDED TO ALL CLASSES OF EVERY PROFESSION, INVOLUNTARY AS TO MERCHANTS, AND VOLUNTARY AS TO OTHERS."

"The law should embrace ALL CASES EXISTING AT THE PASSING OF THE LAW, as well as all which may happen in future. Such are my views upon this subject. I do not set up myself as a standard for others—organized as I am, I could not act otherwise without a violation of conscience and the obligations of solemn duty. For I have no doubt that if the system should be established, its beneficial effects would be felt in every part of our country, and especially throughout our whole trading community. It is a system which I believe prevails in every commercial country in Europe, and in every civilized nation on the globe. Indeed, from the earliest antiquity, the Jews, though an agricultural nation, had their general jubilees. It is the same measure in a different form, the same great conservative principle for the same great object. In this country all power is based on the will of the people. We have no legal or constitutional classes; but the rich and the poor, the fortunate and unfortunate, are all equal. There is a perpetual revolution of property; the poor becoming rich and the rich becoming poor; and to suffer any unnecessary impediment to enterprise, is to interrupt the prosperity of the nation. If then the relief which a bankrupt law gives EXTENDING ALL ITS PROVISIONS TO ALL WHO DESIRE IT, is proper for any other country, it is MUCH MORE DUE TO THIS GREAT REPUBLIC."

That unflinching *Democratic* Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Walker, is repotted more explicitly, by the *Globe* newspaper, in his defence of this *now odious Whig measure*. The "bill to establish a general system of Bankruptcy," being under consideration, Mr. Walker said:

"MR. WALKER SPOKE EMPHATICALLY IN FAVOR OF PASSING SUCH A BILL, (including the banks if it could be done,) and insisted that PUBLIC OPINION WOULD SOON RENDER IT INEVITABLE." (See *Con. Globe*, p. 445.)

Again, July 25, 1841, Mr. Walker said:

"If this law was not passed, the *thousands of unfortunate debtors in this country would either have to wear the chains of the slave, or become exiles from their native land.*"

* "No man could doubt that Congress has the power to grant the relief so loudly called for, and the State had *not* the power."

But, to cap the climax, Mr. A. O. P. Q. X. Y. Z. NICHOLSON, whilst a Senator in Congress from Tennessee, in 1841, delivered a speech in which he went the entire stripe in defence of this law. He is a Democrat of the first water, and in his speech delivered on the 16th of February, he says:

"If evidence were wanted of the immense amount and extent of the *distress and suffering* which exist in every portion and in every rank and condition of our country, enough to *satisfy my mind may be found in the memorials which are daily presented here, calling upon us to interpose relief by passing a bankrupt law.* THERE ARE HIGH CONSIDERATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY, AS WELL

AS OF HUMANITY, WHICH STRONGLY INCLINE ME TO LEND A FAVORABLE EAR TO THESE APPEALS. *I am satisfied that whilst the passage of a Bankrupt Law would OPEN A SPEEDY WAY TO DELIVERANCE OF THOUSANDS OF HONEST but UNFORTUNATE DEBTORS, who have fallen victims to the abuses of the credit system, it would, at the same time, RESTORE THEIR ENERGIES, AND ENABLE THEM TO BECOME AGAIN VALUABLE MEMBERS OF SOCIETY. I HOLD THAT, IN TOO MANY CASES, THE MAN WHO IS BOUND DOWN UNDER A WEIGHT OF INDEBTEDNESS, FROM WHICH HE CANNOT HOPE TO RELIEVE HIMSELF BY HIS OWN EXERTIONS, IS WORTH BUT LITTLE TO HIMSELF, HIS FAMILY, OR HIS COUNTRY."*

On the 23d of July, 1841, in a subsequent speech, this *protem* Senator, appointed by *Gov. Polk*, renewed his efforts in behalf of this *now odious Whig law*, and held forth after this fashion, if he be correctly reported by the Congressional Globe, on page 241-2:

"Mr. Nicholson moved to amend the bill, so as to *include corporations* within its provisions."—Mr. Nicholson rose and said, "It is known, Mr. President, that there is a difference of opinion in the Senate as to the *power of Congress* to subject banking corporations to the provisions of a bankrupt law. I took occasion at the last session to express my opinion at length on this question.—That opinion is *still the same*, and I shall not detain the Senate by repeating the grounds upon which *I believe we are authorized under the Constitution to exercise the power*. I shall content myself by remarking, that *I regard the clause in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to "pass uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies" as CONFERRING A SPECIFIC AND EXPRESS POWER TO LEGISLATE ON THIS SUBJECT.*"

In addition to all these, we could give other and numerous extracts, from these *distinguished sources*, in favor of a *General Bankrupt Law*, but we have now exhausted both our space and patience, with these *Locofoco authorities*, favoring this *Federal Whig measure*! It has already been shown, however, that, AS A PARTY, the Locofocos actually brought forward in the Senate, in 1840, A BANKRUPT BILL, to all the features of which, *they themselves now object*!—that the FIRST MOVEMENT in favor of such a law, was made by A DISTINGUISHED LOCOFOCO SENATOR!—that LOCOFOCOS generally, and LOCOFOCO LEGISLATURES in particular, were most active in forwarding petitions to Congress, praying the passage of such a law!—and that the leading men of that party, *Messrs Van Buren, Johnson, Benton, Wall, Walker, Norvell and Nicholson*, were really its champions, each notoriously and fully committing himself, and his party to the very worst features of the law that did pass, and which has since been repealed! Is any thing further necessary? Certainly not. Let the people before whom Ex-Gov. Polk has recently denounced this law charging it as a Whig measure, carefully examine and bear in mind these facts, and reward the *hypocrisy* as they think it deserves.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BANK OF THE STATE OF TENNESSE—REFUSAL OF THE “IMMORTAL THIRTEEN” TO ALLOW AN INVESTIGATION, OR CHANGE ITS DIRECTORS—INSOLVENCY OF THE BANK AND BRANCHES—DIRECTORS CANDIDATES FOR THE LEGISLATURE—GENERAL FAVORITISM AND CORRUPTION!

[From the Joesborough Whig, of March, 8th 1843.]

THE BANK OF THE STATE—NUMBER ONE.—No act of the “*immortal thirteen*,” in our late General Assembly, carries on its face, more tergitude than their refusal to ratify the Boards of Directors sent into them by Gov. Jones. We say that no act of theirs was more base, because we look to the motives, which governed them, and in reference to these we speak. Some have supposed that these worthies acted upon the great Locofoco principle, “of holding on to all the power and spoils they possessed, and by all means foul and fair. It is true, that so far as they were governed by *principle* at all, this was the principle on which they acted. But there was another *fundamental* principle of Locofocoism, which rested with ponderous weight upon their minds—it was that of *self-interest*, in contradistinction to the interest of *party*. It has been ascertained satisfactorily, that NINE out of the THIRTEEN Senators refusing an investigation into the condition of the Bank of Tennessee and its branches, and who voted against a change of the Directors, in the Mother Bank, and consequently in all her Branches, are *either indebted to these Banks beyond their abilities to pay, or they are Attornies for Banks, or forsooth, they have friends and relatives who are, and who owe more than they can pay!*

The foregoing items—and which are a mere drop in the bucket to what shall appear, will serve for the present, to show the people *why* these thirteen *immortals* refused to confirm the nominations made by Gov. Jones. They will show too, why Mr. Polk of Maury, a member of the House, attempted to *hire* Mr. Lain of Claiborne, not to support the Governor's nominations. One other reason why Gov. Jones' Boards were neither of them acceptabe, doubtless was, because there were in each two or three respectable *Mechanics*, a class of men who never had been represented in the Bank before. The Governor did not know before that *Mechanics* were obnoxious to the *Democracy* of the coun-

try. His reason for attempting to place Mechanics at the head of this institution was, that as the late census showed there were 17,000 Mechanics in the State, and as he understood the Bank to be the *People's Bank*, he thought the different interests in the State, ought to be represented in the administration, at least as far as practicable.

But the Bank of Tennessee is doomed to wind up the most stupendous failure ever witnessed in the State. It is now insolvent beyond a doubt. And its two branches in this end of the State, the one at Rogersville, and that at Athens, are fit subjects to apply for the benefits of the Bankrupt Law! Senator Johnson of Greene himself says that the Bank and its Branches will ultimately fail, but that their notes will be redeemed, because the *People's heads are in for their redemption*. Do you hear that sovereigns? Your guilty heads are good for the frauds, thefts, and extravagancies of the last two years of misrule and plunder!

But Senator Johnson further says, that the Report of the Legislature by the Bank at Nashville, was false, and that the Bank and Branches have not the amount of funds set forth in the Report. We believe every word of this. But did the Senator find this out since he left Nashville? No he knew it there, as well as he knows it now. Well why did he vote to retain a set of Directors in office, who had made to him and others a *false* Report? This question he can answer to his constituents. And if he desires it, he can answer them through our paper.

To conclude—we are strongly inclined to go against all *State Banks* in future; and if a National Bank cannot be had, we shall advocate *Stock Banks* in preference to a *State Institution*. Look at the history of such institutions in Tennessee. The old State Bank was literally plundered of its last dollar, by the then organized *Jackson Party*, as they were called—who divided its funds among them for the purpose of establishing Presses and other necessary means to elect Jackson to the Presidency. They took the everlasting oath of *Masonry*, not to tell on other, or to account for the funds of the institution in any way—and they never have been accounted for, nor never will be, till the unclouded light of eternity reveals the secret. The notorious *Joel Parish*, cashier at Nashville, said he would suffer his right arm to come off before he would divulge the secret!

Well, this modern *Bank of the State of Tennessee*, has been completely used up, in three short years, by the Locofoco party, in an effort to elect James K. Polk Governor, and Van Buren President.—Does any one doubt the fact? The Locofocos themselves say it is a gone case, but console the people by telling them that its notes will all be redeemed, and that there will be no failure, such as we have recently

witnessed in the cases of Hiwassee and Kincannon small bills! But why will the notes be redeemed? Why, because the faith of the State is pledged for their redemption—the people's *heads* are in for their redemption. A *direct tax* will be laid to create a fund to carry on the State Government, while all the State dues will be collected in the notes of the Bank of the State, as was the case with the notes of the old State Bank, which were in circulation when it was plundered, and when Yeatman & Woods, we believe it was, loaned the members of the General Assembly, money to bear their expenses home! Are the people prepared for this?

This is the state of things which has grown up in Tennessee, since the best currency the world ever knew was destroyed, the United States Bank. Here too, are some of the fruits of Democratic Legislation.

[From the Jonesborough Whig of March 15, 1843.]

THE BANK OF THE STATE.—NUMBER TWO.—In our last week's paper, we alluded briefly to the affairs of the Bank of Tennessee, under the management of its Locofoco Directors. This week we propose a few additional remarks, principally, however, in reference to the rejection, by the Locofocos, of the proposition to appoint Commissioners to investigate the affairs of the Bank and its branches.

We have been taught, by the professions and avowals of the self-styled Democratic party, to believe, that if there be any one thing in this lower world, which this party regard with less favor and confidence than all others, it is *Banks* and banking institutions. There is nothing in their estimation, so unworthy of confidence, and so corrupt as these institutions and their paper issues. They are the anti-Bank party—the hard money party—the constitutional currency party—and they too, are the friends of trade and commerce. But all who go for Banks, are Federalists, Aristocrats, and enemies to the best interests of the country. These are certainly the sentiments of the party, if the clamour, speeches and papers of the party are to be regarded as true exponents of their sentiments. Well, how was it, reader, but the other day, when a call was made for an investigation of an institution that had been in the hands of these same Bank-hating Democrats, for several years? They shrunk from that investigation, and told the people that there was no necessity for it!

Some of the ultra Locofocos pretended to object to the appointment of Commissioners, on the score that the Executive would select them from among his partizan friends, and that they would go through the State electioneering *for a party*, at the expense of the people. To meet this, Mr. RENEAU, a Whig Senator offered a resolution, in which

it was proposed that the State Treasurer, MILLER FRANCIS (a good Democrat!) should appoint the Commissioners to look into the affairs of the Bank and its branches. And behold! Democracy, so called, voted that down!

And yet, at that very moment, suspicions existed in the public mind, to a very great extent indeed, that most of the branches of this institution had been badly managed—and proof positive, was before the Legislature, as to the bad management of the branches at Athens and Rogersville. But how are we to arrive at a knowledge of the guilt or innocence of an institution of any sort, without an examination?—This the "*immortal thirteen*" refused. Is innocence afraid of investigation? Does not honesty seek, aye, challenge and demand the most rigid scrutiny whenever an imputation is hinted at? It will not do for a man suspected of slipping into his pocket, an article off of a merchant's counter, to exclaim I am innocent, and at the same time refuse to be searched; that would at once convict him in the eyes of all honest men. So it is with the Locofoco party in this State, who refused to surrender the Bank of the State and Branches, into the hands of the Whigs, when they came into power, and also to deny their request to investigate their alleged frauds and abuses—*they are guilty before the country.*

Senators of the Locofoco stripe, when this investigation into the Bank and its branches was demanded, urged that the *officers* of the several Banks had sent up statements to the Legislature, and that these statements represented these institutions to be in a prosperous condition! What sort of logic is this? Who ever knew a *statement* by a Bank, without any reference to its books—its internal management—its purity or corruptions, to show any thing but a fair state of things?

This finding of the money of a Bank in the *written reports* of its officers, reminds us of the anecdote of Senator Macon of North Carolina. Mr Macon on starting for Congress on one occasion, gave his overseer written directions as to the management of his plantation during his absence, which he calculated would not be longer than May. One item of the instructions was, that his sheep were to be kept in a certain field. Well the overseer obeyed instructions to the letter, and the old gentleman, when he came home, at a somewhat later period than he had expected, called for an account of his stewardship. Among the rest, "how are the sheep?" demanded he. "Dead sir." Dead! how's that?"—"Why, sir, you told me to keep them in the field, and when the summer came on, the water dried up, and they all died." "But why didn't you move them to another field?" "Oh sir, I looked into the paper you gave me, and it wasn't *thar*."—But one other anecdote of a similar character, is more directly in point. An Irish Nobleman

sent a basket of very fine birds to a neighboring Lord, accompanying them with a polite note by a white servant. The bearer of both was anxious to see the birds, and opened the basket to look at them on the way, when out they came, and away they went! He closed the basket again and delivered it with the note to his highness, who, upon reading the note, requested Pat to say to his master that he thanked him very much for his present! Said Pat in reply, "I am glad you have found them *in the letter*, for be Jasus they are not in the *basket*!"

Thus it is with the Banks—the money is in their *reports*, but it is not to be found in their *vaults*.

But it will be urged that these official statements were made by officers on *oath*. What of this? Who does not know that Bank officers who would be guilty of corruption in the management of an institution, would make false statements under oath, to screen themselves from censure? Who does not know that a board of directors, who would use the funds of a Bank, or loan it to relatives, friends and political partizans, without adequate securities, would lie to a General Assembly, rather than expose themselves? Never was there a plainer case.

The pride of the officers of the Bank of the State, and its branches; their character for financial abilities; their concern for their PARTY, to whom they looked for protection, and by whom they expected to be retained in office, contrary to, and in violation of law, all and singular, prompted them to make out a fair statement each, though anything but the truth was embodied therein. And who ever saw an exhibition of the condition of any Bank made out by its officers, for the eye of the public, that did not represent it as being, at least in a *safe* condition? But if this Bank and its branches, were in a safe condition, as their officers alledged, and their partizan friends in the Legislature reiterated, why did the latter refuse to appoint a committee, whose duty it should be, to not only visit the mother bank, but all its branches, clothed with power to send for persons and papers, and to examine officers and witnesses on oath, with free and full access to the books of these institution? This is a question in the history of this matter, which never has been answered to this day.

We should all recollect that the people of Tennessec once had a *State Bank* before this, and we should not forget what was its final end. Not less than A HALF A MILLION OF DOLLARS, of the public money was lost to the State by that institution; and whatever may be known to *Cashier Parish*, *Andrew Jackson*, and a few other politicians, to this very day, the public know nothing, but are ignorant of what went with the vast amount of money. That Bank as well as

this, year after year, and even *after* it had been plundered, reported to the Legislature what it *represented* to be its condition, and on *paper*, all seemed to be well! But after all something was wrong in the management of that institution; and when facts came to light, in a way to be relied on, it was found that SOME FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS of the People's money was gone into the hands of a few corrupt and ambitious politicians, and finally and irretrievably lost. Something like this has already taken place with the present Bank; and if it continues in the hands of the reckless plunderers who now have charge of it, till the close of the next Presidential election, its ruin is inevitable. The maxim upon which its possessors boldly act, that "TO THE VICTORS BELONG THE SPOILS!" And in their zeal to elect JAMES K. POLK, to the Vice Presidency, they will deal out those "spoils" with a liberal hand. Mark what we say!

But another idea in this connection. The State of Tennessee, has a stake of several million of dollars in this institution—there is ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS, a part of the capital of the Bank, for which she has issued her bonds; there is ONE MILLION AND A HALF, obtained from the General Government; and then, there is the School Fund, amounting to ONE MILLION, to which the poor children of the State alone look for the advantages of a common education. All this may be squandered and lost by the neglect—not to say culpable remissness of the "*immortal thirteen*" of our late General Assembly. And if this money is lost how is it to be replaced? By *direct taxation*, imposed on the people. Will any one say there is no danger of this? One of these thirteen Senators, Mr. Powell, has already signed an Address to the people of Tennessee, recommending the creating, in this way, of a *Sinking Fund*, and for the purpose of redeeming the bonds of the State now in foreign markets. Tax the people to sustain a swindling institution, which they are not allowed to understand the operations of! What Democracy!

[From the Jonesborough Whig of March 22nd. 1843.]

THE BANK OF THE STATE.—NUMBER THREE.—While the proposition to look into the affairs of the Bank of Tennessee, and its several branches, was under discussion, in the Senate of our State Legislature, Senator POWELL, from Carter county, gravely asked a Whig Senator, DOCT. PEXTON, if he would go for the investigation, if the Directory were composed of the *Whig Gentlemen* nominated by Gov. Jones! Doct Peyton told him *he would*. He told him that if every nominee had been his brother, and each nomination had been confirmed, he would have gone for the investigation. The Senator from Carter, here admitted *impliedly* at least, that he opposed the

investigation into the affairs of the Bank and its branches, because they were in the hands of his *political friends*! He did not say that he thought they acted badly, and were not therefore able to face Commissioners who might be appointed to examine their books, but we have our opinion as to what his *thoughts* were.

Once more: the Senator from Warren, the notorious *Laughlin*, said on that memorable occasion, that *if* there were causes for this proposed investigation, why that those causes existed *when the Bank was much more able to bear the expense of an investigation, than it was then*! That is to say, it was more solvent *before* the Democracy of the State had plundered it, than it was *afterwards*. Upon this subject, we presume, there was no difference of opinion among Whigs and Democrats! Here, too, the Senator from Warren, admitted, *impliedly* again, that there had been mismanagement, fraud or corruption, in conducting the affairs of the institution, but it would cost too much to ferret it out! Strange Democracy this! No it would expose certain Bank officers, and injure Democracy, and hence the investigation was *opposed*. This is the true secret of the whole affair.

Those who framed the charter of the present Bank, aware of the corrupting tendency of *money*, provided for frequent changes in its officers, or if the reader please, required a new directory every two years. In obedience to this requirement of the law chartering the Bank, Gov. Jones, on coming into power, nominated *two* different boards, but both were rejected, and no board the Governor could nominate, were acceptable to the *thirteen immortals*. Thus it will be seen that this most important principle of the charter has been violated, and violated by men *sworn* to obey the laws and constitution of the State. For what purpose this reckless course was pursued, we have already explained, but time will make further disclosures. This disposition, moreover, to shrink from a public investigation of the affairs of the Bank, as heretofore suggested, give fresh proof that all is not right—that something is “rotten in Denmark.” Let public scrutiny once be called to this subject. And let the people call attention to the subject by electing men to the next General Assembly, who will institute an enquiry into the Bank, and by *vetoing* those unfaithful stewards who refused an investigation.

But was ever such a spectacle beheld in all the iniquitous ups and downs of Jackson Van Buren Democracy? What! the Democratic party—the only true lovers of the *dear* people and their best interests, shrinking from the investigation of the affairs of a Bank, which they have alone had the control of for several years! Is this in accordance with their previously expressed opinions? Has it not been the bur

then of their song reader, for the last fourteen years of mistule that the *United States Bank*, would not submit to a public investigation? Did they not proclaim it from Maine to Louisiana, that "King Biddle" closed his doors against investigation? Did not their presses and orators denounce him from one end of this continent to the other, for saying that the National Bank at the head of which he stood, needed no looking into, and was in a safe condition? Did not these very *thirteen* do the same thing, when at Nashville, for which they denounced Biddle, while they were canvassing for their seats in our State Senate? Yes they followed in the footsteps of their "illustrious predecessors," Biddle, whose course they so unceremoniously condemned.

In 1841, a committee of five were appointed by the citizens of Hawkins county, to address the citizens of East Tennessee, on the subject of constructing a McAdamized Road through this end of the State.— This address we published in the Whig of November 10th, of that year, filling five of our columns. A majority of the signers of this address are Democrats, and a majority of them are now, as they were then *Directors in the Rogersville Bank*. Will their testimony against the Bank of the State, and its Branches be taken? Here is what they say :—

"Again, a State Bank, owned by the public, and managed by *politicians*, must end in *total or partial bankruptcy*, or contradict the whole history of the world. We have already made one experiment of this sort, in Tennessee, and it is due to say that we are *now* (1841) making another. Shall we increase the risk by another still? What has become of the bank of 1820? Let Joel Parish and his securities answer; and if they will not, we do not know who can. As a relief measure, the bank of the State of 1837 was well conceived and able, but as a financial measure, IS OBLIGED TO PROVE AN ENTIRE FAILURE; and if you do not wish to see the immense funds the State has already vested in that institution wasted, you must immediately take measures to consolidate it with the Planters' or Union Bank. As to new subscriptions of individual funds to it, in the present situation of the country, it is impracticable. If these funds are lost or wasted, you, the people, MUST BE TAXED TO MAKE THEM GOOD. — Will you add to your risks and responsibilities by creating a new institution of the same character?

ORVILLE BRADLY,
JAS. M. HORD,
R. G. FAIN,
GEORGE HALE,
DIX ALEXANDER.

And now gentle reader, in concluding the last of three successive articles on the subject of the Bank of Tennessee and its branches, permit us to ask, have we not presented for your consideration, a very strange

spectacle indeed? Here is a Bank exclusively belonging to the People—exclusively the property of the State—predicated upon the funds and credit of the Commonwealth of Tennessee and for the faithful performance of all its contracts, the honor of the State is pledged, and the individual property of every citizen is liable. Next, we behold *Democratic* Senators the servants of the People, and the ardent friends and lovers of the People, refusing to surrender the Banks into the hands of their lawful guardians, and in conformity with the provisions of the charter of the Mother Banks charged with mismanagement, fraud and corruption, and an investigation into their affairs demanded, but refused by these same *Republican* Senators, claiming to be *par excellence*—*par nobile paunchorem!* the only friends of the People, and the only lovers of their country! There is something exceedingly strange about this matter—there is something mysterious connected with this matter? Was there ever such an outrage committed upon the rights and understandings of any free people? Was ever partizan corruption carried to a greater length? And yet, this, all this, and even more—their refusal to elect Senators to Congress, was done in the name of *Democracy!* May heaven deliver our country from the control of such Democrats! And may the State of Tennessee never again fall into the hands of such land pirates!

BANK DIRECTORS IN THE FIELD.—The Branch Bank at Athens, has *three* of its Locofoco Directors in the field, canvassing for a seat in the next General Assembly, to wit, Pierce B. Anderson of McMinn, Abraham Cox of Meigs, and Arthur R. Crozier of Knox! The Rogersville Branch has *Daniel Kenney* of Washington, and *Wm. Houston* of Claiborne—in all, *five*, who, if elected, are to go it blind against an investigation into the condition of the Banks! The Rogersville Branch also had, till recently, *Cleon Moore*, a Director, and *Mr. Mountcastle*, another Bank officer in the field, but drew them back, thinking it looked rather bare-faced to run the whole establishment.

An intelligent friend writes us from Middle Tennessee, that the other Branches of the Bank of the State, have an *average* of two to each institution, canvassing for a seat in the Legislature! What a monied influence is now being used against the Whigs, and the true interests of the people! Another part of the game is to loan out the money freely, which is now being done at every Branch. These *candidate* Directors attend on Banking days in person, and *push* the notes of all through, who give them assurances of their support. The Rogersville Branch is going it in this line with a rush; and the Merchants of Hawkins, Greene, Washington and Sullivan, will bear us testimony, that they have not seen Tennessee money as abundant, for the last twelve months. What partizan corruption! Well may the people become alarmed!

CHAPTER XV.

TROUBLES IN THE CAMP—FIVE PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS OPPOSED TO A BANK—MR. CALHOUN AGAINST A NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1834—CALHOUN GOING FOR HARRISON IN 1835—THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER'S OPINION OF CALHOUN IN 1833—'TURN ABOUT WHEEL ABOUT' CALHOUN—JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST SOUTH CAROLINA—MR. VAN BUREN'S PRINCIPLES—HIS STANDING ARMY, ABOLITION NOTIONS, &C., &C.

TROUBLES IN THE CAMP.—On the subject of the next Presidency, great excitement prevails among the self-styled Democracy of the land, and divisions exist in their ranks. The party, however, at least for the present, are principally divided in urging the claims of Messers Van Buren and Calhoun.

On the question, too, of *when* shall the Convention meet to nominate the candidate? there is quite a difference of opinion. The Calhoun wing of the party, are for meeting in Convention next May, whilst the Van Buren folks are for meeting in November, or at least at as early a day as practicable. This is perhaps owing to the fact, that the Van Buren party see they are ahead now, but fear that delay in the time of meeting will place the Nullifiers in the front row!

On the subject of the *time* of meeting in Convention, the Woodstock (Va.) Sentinel, a Locofoco papar says:

"Rather than see a division in our ranks longer exist on this subject, we would have the friends of Mr. Van Buren submit his claims to the Convention to assemble in May, 1844. If the friends of Mr. Calhoun *will not* yield, those of Van Buren *must* submit, or the Republican party *must* suffer the double disgrace of division and defeat."

ANOTHER CONFESSION!—Judge Colquitt, one of the Senators in Congress from Georgia, being in Mobile a few days ago, complied with the request of his Locofoco friends, to address the people on the political topics of the day. In the course of his speech he said, that the Locofoco Convention in Georgia had nominated Mr. Calhoun as next President, "because they all knew he was the strongest man—not that they had any objection to Mr. Van Buren, but because *they knew that Mr. Van Buren could never get Georgia. If he were nominated the Whigs would carry the State.*"

But worse than all this, and of a late date, is a circular of the friends

of GEN. CASS, in Ohio, addressed to their political associates in the United States. This document has but recently come to hand, and shall appear at no distant day. This document asserts, that Mr. Van Buren, if nominated, "cannot get the vote of Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Indiana," and that "Mr. Calhoun stands no chance in the West." Therefore it is as alledged in this circular, that the claims of Gen. Cass are urged, as a candidate upon whom the entire party can unite!

These are all important *confessions*, and strengthen our confidence, already strong, in the success of our great favorite, HENRY CLAY of Kentucky. There are now some half dozen hating partizan rival aspirants in the Locofoco ranks for the Presidency, who secretly curse each other in their hearts, but whose bitter animosity against each other, is only kept from blazing out and consuming the whole batch, by their constant dread of the Kentucky Statesman and Orator of the West! Meanwhile, Mr. Clay looks down upon this coalition of "white spirits and black, blue spirits and grey," as fiercely hostile towards each other as they are towards him, with the lofty disdain of a proud and gallant patriot, conscious of innocent uprightness, and purity of purpose, while the language of his inmost soul is,—

"Come one—come all—this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I.

THE FIVE PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS.—There is a large, a respectable, and an increasing class of our fellow-citizens, throughout the Union, known as *Bank Democrats*. This class of the voters of the country, we would respectfully point to the answers of the *five* Democratic aspirants to the Presidency, recently made to the celebrated interrogatories propounded by order of the "INDIANA DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION." These candidates are, Messrs. Calhoun, Johnson, Cass, Buchanan and Van Buren, *one* of whom, all agree will be the Democratic nominee, and *all* of whom, *oppose a National Bank, both upon grounds of constitutionality and expediency*. Therefore, no *Bank Democrat*, if he be a consistent man, can or will support either of these men in 1844. To show, then, how these great leaders stand affected towards a Bank, and the absolute certainty of their opposition to it, if elected, we subjoin brief extracts from their several letters.

Mr. CALHOUN, under date of January 26, 1843, says:

"In answer to the first question, in which I am desired to state whether I am in favor of, or opposed to, the chartering of a national bank, or any other national institution, by whatever name it may be called, authorized to issue bills of credit for banking purposes, or to regulate exchanges,—with my view of the constitutionality and expediency of such an institution?—I reply, I am opposed to a national institution, be

its name what it may, authorized to issue bills of credit for banking purposes, or to regulate exchanges, both on the ground of *expediency* and *constitutionality*."

Col. JOHNSON, under date of Feb. 6, 1843, says:

"The charter of a bank of the United States by Congress I have *always considered unconstitutional and inexpedient*—having given my vote against it in 1811, and at each successive presentation of the subject since, up to the period of the 4th of March, 1841, when I retired from the public service of the United States, *in accordance with the will of the people*."

Mr. CASS under date of Feb. 8, 1843, says:

"With respect to a *national bank*, I have to remark that I have always entertained doubts of the power of Congress to charter such an institution. The indirect process by which this power is deduced from a very general provision of that instrument, has *never been satisfactory to me*. But there is the less necessity for entering more in detail into the constitutional question, as it seems to me *the public voice has pronounced itself, and justly against the incorporation of any national bank by Congress*. No such institution should, in my opinion, be established."

Mr. BUCHANAN, under date of Feb. 11, 1843, says:

"I am "opposed to the charter of a national Bank, or any other institution, by whatever name it may be called, authorized to issue bills of credit for banking purposes, or to regulate exchanges;" believing such an institution to be both unconstitutional and highly *inexpedient*."

Mr. VAN BUREN, under date of Feb. 15, 1843, says:

"I am opposed to the establishment of a national bank in any form, or under any disguise, both on constitutional grounds and grounds of expediency."

These avowals are certainly explicit. They leave not a loop to hang a hope upon that either of the writers, if elected President, will ever permit the chartering of a NATIONAL BANK. The question, then, with Bank Democrats, will be, whether the ties of *party* are to be regarded as paramount to the *good of the country* growing out of the restoration of a sound, uniform, and adequate *National Currency*? This question, we trust, may be left to their unbiassed judgments for a decision.

MR. CALHOUN vs. A NATIONAL CONVENTION.—In 1834, Mr. Calhoun made a speech in the Senate on the removal of the Deposits in which he took occasion to express himself in very strong terms, as is his custom, against a National Convention. We annex an interesting extract, from this unusually interesting speech. After reading this, the reader will be surprised when we tell him that Mr. Calhoun's friends in South Carolina, were the very first to appoint Delegates to a National Convention, to be held in Baltimore, in May next!

Extract from a speech of Mr. Calhoun in 1831.

"MR. CALHOUN said that the Senator from Kentucky, in connexion with this part of the discussion, read a striking passage from one of the most pleasing and instructive writers in any language, (Plutarch)—the description of Caesar forcing himself, sword in hand, into the Treasury of the Roman Commonwealth. We are at the same stage of our political revolution, and the analogy between the two cases is complete, varied only by the character of the actors and the circumstances of the times. That was the case of an intrepid and bold warrior, as an *open plunderer*, seizing forcibly the treasury of the country, which, in that Republic, as well as ours, was confided to the legislative department of the Government. *The actors in our case are of a different character—artful, cunning, and corrupt politicians* and not fearless warriors. They have entered the Treasury, not sword in hand, as public plunderers, but, with the *false keys of sophistry, as pilferers*, under the silence of midnight. The motive and object are the same, varied in like manner by character and circumstances. 'With money I will get men, and with men power,' was the maxim of the Roman plunderer. With money we will get *partizans, with partizans votes, and with votes money*, is the maxim of our public pilferers. With men and money Caesar struck down Roman liberty at the fatal battle of Philippi, never to rise again—from which disastrous hour all the powers of the Roman Republic were consolidated in the person of Caesar, and perpetuated in his line. With money and corrupt partizans, a great effort is now making to choke and stifle American liberty, through all its natural organs—by corrupting the press, by overawing the other departments, and, finally, by setting up a *new and polluted organ*, composed of *office-holders and corrupt partizans, under the name of a National Convention*, which, *counterfeiting the voice of the People*, will, if not resisted in their name, *dictate the succession*; when the deed will be done—the revolution be completed—and all power of our Republic, in like manner, be consolidated in the President, and perpetuated by his dictation."

MR. CALHOUN FOR HARRISON IN 1835.—It will be recollected that in 1835, the State of Maryland cast her vote for Gen. Harrison, and that the Whigs of Maryland regarded the result as a great victory. In consequence of this achievement, under the Harrison flag, the Whigs gave a grand festival. Among a large number of distinguished gentlemen invited to attend, was Mr. CALHOUN; to which invitation he sent a *scorching* letter against Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, of which the following is an extract:

"FORT HILL, 4th Nov., 1835.

"Gentlemen—The mail of yesterday brought me your note of the 21st ult., inviting me, in the name of the citizens of Baltimore, opposed to the President nominating his successor, to attend a festival to be given on the 11th instant, in honor of the late triumph in Maryland, by those opposed to the Executive nominee. The great distance, and the shortness of the time, put it out of my power to attend. No one can look with greater alarm than I do, on the attempt of the Chief Magistrate"

appoint his successor. Should it succeed, open and undisguised as it is and *resting as it almost exclusively does, on the avowed subserviency of the nominee to the will of the President, without those high qualifications and services, on his part, calculated to command the regard of the people, or to fit him for the duties of the office to which he aspires,* it would afford *conclusive proof of the consummation of Executive usurpation, over the other departments of the government, and the constitution and liberty of the people.*

Entertaining these views, *I regard with pleasure the decided victory achieved by Maryland in the late election over the President's nominee, and, of course, over Executive dictation. It is the more honorable to the State, placed as she is so near the focus of influence and corruption, while others more remote and less exposed, have yielded such ready obedience to the rod of power. Her victory cannot but have an important bearing, in deciding the present struggle favorable to the cause of liberty; but a regard to truth, compels me to say, that, in my opinion, whatever may be the result of the pending contest between the People and the President, the time must come, and that far sooner than is anticipated, when Executive influence and power will forever silence the popular voice unless, indeed, the friends of liberty and free institutions shall zealously and honestly unite in a common effort to eradicate the causes which have given such extraordinary power and influence to the Executive department of the Government, and placed the country in its present dangerous condition. They may be almost traced to the same origin, the fiscal action of the Government.*

While millions on millions are heaped up in the Treasury, beyond the *expenditures of this, the most extravagant of all administrations, constituting an immense fund to act on the cupidity of the mercenary, and to unite in one solid compact band all, in, and out of office, who prefer their own advancement to the public good; any attempt to arrest the progress of power and corruption, must end in disappointment and failure.*"

THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER & MR. CALHOUN.—We find in an old file of papers, some apt and suitable quotations from the Richmond Enquirer, (the *second* paper in the Union in the service of Democracy) in relation to Mr. Calhoun. We give a few extracts from the pen of *Editor Ritchie*, because we shall not be at all surprised if he is not the regular nominee of that party. And whether he is or not, they now confess that *if* he is, they will support him. So said Ex-Gov. POLK, on all occasions, in the canvass for Governor. At least he said he would support *any one of the Democratic party who might get the nomination!* But let us suppose the nomination made, and Mr. Calhoun to be the regular nominee of the "Democracy"—could the Enquirer, or the Globe, or the old Jackson party in Tennessee, support him, WITHOUT THE MOST SHAMELESS ABANDONMENT OF PRINCIPLE, EVER WITNESSED IN THIS LAND OF TURN-COATS AND APOSTLES?—Let us see what the Enquirer, the organ of *President Jackson* in Vir-

ginia, has said of Mr. Calhoun—and what it has said, is in keeping with what the Globe newspaper at Washington has said :

[From the Richmond Enquirer of March 22d, 1813.]

“ We retort upon the Telegraph the falsehood which it has charged upon us. Its Editor knows, as well as we do, that John C. Calhoun was an advocate of the tariff system in 1816—that he went out of the war, an ultra stickler for the powers of the Federal Government—that he supported the Bank—a general system of Internal Improvement—and the *protective system* as the *permanent policy* of the Government. The loyal Telegraph knows, and his political master knows, that in spite of his late equivocating speech, *he* was the advocate of the bill of 1816—that there is not one word about raising *revenue* in his speech of 1816; and that he insisted that manufactures should be established by protection *beyond the reach of contingency*; and that he strenuously supported the oppressive and odious system of *minimums*. In his late reply to Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Webster let him very gently off—but as far as the following extract from his speech goes, it is correct :

“ The Tariff, of 1816, was introduced, carried through and established under the lead of South Carolina. Even the *minimum* policy is of South Carolina origin. The Hon. gentleman himself supported, and ably supported, the Tariff of 1816. He has informed us, sir, that his Speech on that occasion was sudden and off-hand, he being called upon by the request of a friend. I am sure the gentleman so remembers it, and that it was so; but there is, nevertheless, much method, arrangement and clear exposition, in that extempore speech. It is very able, very much to the point, and very decisive. And in another Speech, delivered two months earlier, on the proposition to Repeal the internal Taxes, the honorable gentleman had touched the same subject and had declared “ that a certain encouragement ought to be extended, at least to our Woollen and Cotton Manufacturers.” I do not quote these Speeches, Sir, to show that the honorable gentleman has changed his opinion; my object is other and higher. I do it for the purpose of saying that that cannot be so plainly and palpably unconstitutional as to warrant resistance to law, nullification and revolution, which the honorable gentleman and his friends have agreed to, and acted upon, without doubt and without hesitation. Sir, it is no answer to say that the Tariff of 1816 was a Revenue Bill. So are they all Revenue Bills. The point is, and the truth is, that the Tariff of 1816, like the rest *did discriminate*; it did distinguish one article from another; it did lay duties for protection. Look to the case of coarse Cottons, under the minimum calculation; the duty on these was from 60 to 80 per cent. Something besides Revenue certainly was intended in this; and in fact the law cut up our whole commerce with India in that article. It is, Sir, only within a few years that Carolina has denied the Constitutionality of these protective Laws.”

“ We know further, and we have no doubt, this miserable sycophant of Mr. Calhoun knows the same, that as far down as 1824, he was in favor of building up manufactures by the scaffolding of the Federal Government. Finding, however, that his ultra doctrines were becoming

odious to the South, and that his ambition could never be gratified by this course, he was compelled to yield to the force of Southern sentiment—cooled towards his Federal doctrines—gradually came over to the cause of State Rights;—but like all new proselytes, hurried into excess, and plunged into the other *extreme* or nullification. And now his powerful mind is devoted to the task of *denying* his *old opinions*, and of supporting his *new ones*—never right—but always on extremes. A politician from 1815 down to 1833, utterly unsafe and not to be trusted.”

[From the Richmond Enquirer of April 2d, 1833.]

“There is a great deal of refinement, and metaphysics, and mystification, aloft in newspaper essays and speeches of Calhoun and Webster, and the ordinances of South Carolina and the meetings of Virginia, about *sovereignty*, and *allegiance*, and *obedience*, and *intrigues* and *Governments*, and citizens of the U. S., which ought to be cleared up. Is there no old State Rights man who has *talents* and the *time*, and who possesses and deserves the confidence of the people, who will come forward, and tell us the truth—and let us know ‘*who is who and what is what*?’

“Mr. Calhoun and *his school* have lately labored to expound to us the Law and the Prophets. He has doubtless displayed great ingenuity—but his course has been calculated to command little confidence in him as a politician. *Timco Dances et dona ferentes*. He is the Grecian Hero, and we suspect his motives and his measures. “*Frank Hitler*” shows him up in a masterly manner. He has been a Tariff man—and an ultra Latitudinarian in his Constitutional Principles.—He is still, by the shewing of his servile sycophant at Washington, the advocate of a national system of Roads and Canals, the supporter of the Bank of the United States. He is the author of the absurd heresy of *Nullification*—and that sophism alone is sufficient to make us sceptics about all his doctrines.”

[From the Richmond Enquirer, July 19; 1843.]

“Here Mr. Calhoun wishes to pass himself off as an old member of the Old States’ Right Party—Why! Has Mr. Calhoun forgotten that he himself was considered and called a more ultra Federalist than Mr. Hamilton himself? Who was it that advocated the right of the U. States to appropriate to any object of the general welfare?—It was Mr. Calhoun. Who was it that pressed upon us, in 1816, the Bank of the United States?—Mr. Calhoun. Who was it that vindicated the political principles of the Tariff of 1816?—Mr. Calhoun. Who was it that sharply rebuked Mr. Webster a few years ago for insinuating to the “Chair” of the Senate that he had changed his views on such subjects?—Mr. Calhoun. Who is it, that still is for overleaping the specified provisions of the Constitution; and still strikes for the implied power for establishing a Bank over the heads of the States; and a system of internal improvement, through their sovereign soil?—Still Mr. Calhoun. And yet we are to hail this man as the defender of our faith; and perhaps the very High Priest of the States’ Right doctrine!”

"TURN ABOUT, WHEEL ABOUT" CALHOUN.—The reader will naturally enough enquire why it is that we have so much to say about Mr. Calhoun, "a private gentleman" in the Locofoco ranks? We answer, because, he may be the regular nominee of his party for the Presidency; and if he is not, he is now *second best* in their ranks, and is looked up to as one of their great lights. Certainly the indications *now* (July 1843) are very different from what they were, even three and five months ago, as to the result of the action of the intended Locofoco National Convention. Then, it was scarcely doubted by any, but what Mr. Van Buren's nomination by the Convention was next to certain, but we now think that Mr. Calhoun's chance for the nomination is the best, and in this opinion we are by no means singular. Many of the Locofoco organs are of this belief, and are shaping their course to suit such an event.

Without further remarks, however, we present the "CROW-NOLOGY" of JOHN CATALINE CALHOUN, which we have made out from authentic documents, and the records of the country. Examine it Democrats, and answer the question, will you go it?

- 1816 "On motion of Mr. Calhoun, a resolution was amended so as to receive the notes of banks in payment of public dues.
- 1838 Mr. Calhoun declared it to be *unconstitutional* to receive bank notes in payment of public dues.
- 1816 A National Bank bill introduced.
- 1834 Proposed to extend the charter twelve years.
- 1837 Believes a National Bank dangerous and unconstitutional.
- 1816 Advocates the "American System"—violent Tariff and Internal Improvement man.
- 1828 He is opposed to the same,
- 1832 He declares the Tariff unconstitutional, and resorts to Nullification.
- 1836 Dec. 30, according to the Globe he tries to set up his "old hobby, the American System" on its legs again.
- 1840 Expresses bitter hostility to the "American System" even in its remnant.
- 1828 Strong friend of Gen. Jackson.
- 1834 Violent enemy of Gen. Jackson and Martin Van Buren and acts with the Whigs in opposition.
- 1835 Rejoices at a Harrison victory in Maryland—writes the Whigs a letter from Fort Hill, denouncing the administration of Jackson, and looked with "alarm" upon all his measures!
- 1837 Takes a position to "hold his allies in check, and cover his enemy," because Whig victories were not likely to inure to his personal benefit.
- 1829 Gives casting vote as Vice President for Mr. Kendall as Fourth Auditor.
- 1832 Call Mr. Kendall very hard names.

1832 "Counter-marches" and Nullifies.

1831-2 Gave casting vote as Vice President to recall Mr. Van Buren from England.

1837 Horrified by his election to the Presidency, and scorned to be present at the Inauguration.—Globe said the "face of Cataline was not seen on the occasion."

1838 "Struck by an idea," and swears allegiance to Mr. Van Buren.

1837 Sep. 1st. Started to Washington, anti Sub-Treasury and opposed to a repeal of the distribution act.

1837 Sept. In Washington, new light, a new man—in favor of the Sub-Treasury, voted to repeal the distribution act.

1832-7 Denounced by the Globe, as a conspirator against the liberties of his country, and designated "Cataline."

" " Denounces the Globe as "mendacious and filthy, vile and prostitute," and its partizans as rogues and royalists.

1839 Tells his friends that they must support the Globe, and gives it his influence to obtain the public printing.

1840 "Officially" pronounced by the Globe, as something equivalent to A PATRIOT.

1840 Jan. 1st. Embraces both Mr. Van Buren and the Editor of the Globe, and soon after announces in the Senate a Coalition between himself and them.

1834 Makes a speech in the Senate denouncing a National Convention, as a "*new and polluted organ*," composed of "*office-holders and corrupt partizans*," got up for the purpose of "*counterfeiting the voice of the People!*"

1843 Goes for a National Convention to be holden in Baltimore, in May 1844, and his own State in Convention, was the first in the Union to appoint Delegates, putting their great leader in nomination for the Presidency!"

Finally was there ever a man on earth, who could thus "Turn about and wheel about and do *just* so?" We again ask the question, and with emphasis, *can* the so-called Democracy of the country, support for the Presidency, a man whom they have stigmatized with every vile epithet in the Locofoco calendar, and who in turn, has stigmatized them and their *measures*, with every politically offensive epithet, his fruitful imagination could conjure up? Yes, if he be their nominee, they will do it. They will, in the chaste language of Ex-Governor Polk, "shut their eyes, grit their teeth, and go it blind!" At least the *Leaders* will.

JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION vs. SOUTH CAROLINA.—

In 1832, the authorities of South Carolina, headed by JOHN C. CALHOUN, met in Convention, and passed an Ordinance, setting forth the most solemn denunciation of the laws of the United States, ever presented for public consideration, since the organization of this Government! This Ordinance of the Convention, said to be from the pen of Mr. CALHOUN, concludes with these words:—

"And we, the people of South Carolina, to the end that it may be fully understood by the Government of the United States and the people of the co States that we are determined to maintain this ordinance and declaration at every hazzard, do further declare, that we will not submit to the application of force on the part of the Federal Government to reduce this State to obedience; but that we will consider the passage by Congress of any act authorizing the employment of a military or naval force against the State of South Carolina, her constituted authorities, or citizens; or any act abolishing or closing the ports of this State, or any one of them, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress and egress of vessels to and from the said ports; or any other act on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the State, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as is inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union: and that the people of this State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connexion with the people of the other States, **AND WILL FORTHWITH PROCEED TO ORGANIZE A SEPERATE GOVERNMENT**, and to do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do."

So soon as this Ordinance was passed, the Legislature of South Carolina was called together by the Governor, the right hand man of Mr. Calhoun, and laws were enacted revising the militia system, authorizing the Governor to accept of the services of "two thousand volunteers for the defence of Charleston," against the forces of the General Government, and arraying the militia of the State into "infantry, riflemen, cavalry, field and heavy artillery—armed and equipped from the public arsenals completely for the field!" One act to which we deem it proper to invite the particular attention of the peaceable, orderly, law-abiding Democrats of the land, is in these words:—

"An act to carry into effect, in part, an ordinance to NULLIFY certain acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws laying duties on the importation of foreign commodities," passed in Convention of this State, at Columbia, on the 24th Nov., 1832."

These are some of the doings and sayings of the rebellious State of South Carolina, under the guidance of Mr. Calhoun, a prominent member of the self-styled Democratic party, and an aspirant for the Presidency! And in reply to these, we subjoin a few extracts from the Proclamation of President Jackson, who *then* thought and said, that this same Mr. Calhoun ought to be *hung*, or *shot*, or both, for *high treason*! And when, indeed, the phials of the wrath of the General Government were just about to be poured out upon South Carolina, and her misguided people;—when the blood of American citizens was about to be shed by American citizens—then it was, we say, that HENRY CLAY, a

man of inflexible firmness, and of fervent patriotism, the man for such a momentous crisis, held out to the deluded Carolinians the Olive Branch of peace, and proposed, aye, carried through Congress the memorable "Compromise Act," which restored peace to our borders, and perhaps saved this very Nullifier from an ignominious death!

The extracts from the Proclamation of Gen. JACKSON to which we allude, are in the following words, to wit:—

"The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you—**THEY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN DECEIVED THEMSELVES.** They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is **DISUNION**: but be not deceived by names: disunion, by armed force, is **TREASON**. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the **INSTIGATORS** of the act be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy state will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the government of your country. It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims—its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world."

"You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquility will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred and remain **AN ETERNAL BLOT ON THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO CAUSED THE DISORDER.**"

Recapitulation.—We have now shown, gentle reader, that in 1816 Mr. Calhoun was the god father of a *Protective Tariff*, and in 1832, the advocate of Nullification to overthrow the system. In 1833, he was the supporter of the Compromise act; in 1841, the violent opponent of it; in 1846, the advocate of a National Bank; in 1851, proposing to extend its charter 12 years; in 1858, and 1861, denouncing it as unconstitutional; in 1866, the advocate of a system of Internal Improvements; in 1869, the moving spirit, that breathed life into it; in 1873, the denouncer of it, entailing all the evils of the Tariff; in 1873, again its advocate; in 1876, the advocate of the Distribution scheme; in 1877, the reviler of the scheme as unconstitutional; in 1878, the advocate of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands being continued at the Treasury, as the *only* constitutional mode of application; in 1879, the *author* of the proposition to take them from the old States, and to cede them to the States in which they lie! This

man has been the *advocate* and *opponent* of all these measures in their turn, measures hated by the South, and measures looked to by the South and West, as their only hope of temporal salvation. And yet, this is the bold Senator, who, in 1842, declared that he had not changed any one of his principles, and on *that* ground now asks the people to make him President! This, too, is the Presidential aspirant, for whom Ex. Gov. Polk declared upon the stump in 1843, that he would go with a ready mind, if nominated by the "*Great Democratic Party!*"—This is the aspirant, moreover, who can't get the electoral vote of three States in the Union? What an imposition upon common sense, to offer such a man to the consideration of the American people!



The following "SPEECHES of MR. CALHOUN," should have been inserted on page 174, just before the head lines "JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION *vs.* SOUTH CAROLINA." This will explain the nature of the blunder made in not placing our editorial remarks beginning "RECAPITULATION," *after*, instead of *before* what here follows:—

SPEECHES OF MR. CALHOUN.—The greatest deception ever practiced upon the Public, is the publication of a Book, by *Harper & Brothers*, of New York, the title of which runs thus—"SPEECHES OF JOHN C. CALHOUN, *delivered in the Congress of the United States from 1811 to the present time 1843.*" This Book, together with a tract of 74 pages, published by HARPER & BROTHERS, entitled—"LIFE OF JOHN C. CALHOUN, *presenting a condensed History of political events from 1811 to 1842,*" was compiled in Washington city, during the winter of 1842, by the partizan friends of Mr. Calhoun, acting under his instruction. At the end of this *Life*, there is a table headed as follows: SPEECHES &c. OF THE HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN, *referred to in his Life, and which are published in separate volumes, and numbered 1 to 38.*" On the subject of this table, the National Intelligencer says:

"We have examined this *List*, and we find that it corresponds, speech answering to speech, both in description and in number, with the *contents of the volume of Speeches* which has just issued from the press."

The "Advertisement" prefixed to this compilation of Speeches, by the Publishers, is in the following terms:

"It may not be inappropriate to set forth, briefly, the considerations which have induced the publishers to offer this volume to the public. The speeches which it contains afford the principal—it might almost be said the only—means of knowing the political opinions of a citizen who, for a long succession of years, has occupied a conspicuous place before the People; who as a high officer of the Government at one time, and as a statesman and legislator both before and since that time, has taken a leading part in all the great political questions that have agitated the country; who has long possessed an almost paramount influence in one part of the Union, and been looked upon, in fact as the chief representative of political opinion in that portion; and who finally, has now retired from direct participation in the councils of the country, only to occupy the station of a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people. The political doctrines of such a man cannot but afford interesting matter for attention and study; and it is believed that both friends and opponents of the distinguished person referred to will gladly avail themselves of this opportunity to make themselves acquainted with his views and principles.

The publishers have only to add, that in collecting the materials for the succeeding pages they have resorted to the most authentic sources.

H. & B.

NEW YORK, June, 1843."

This book, then, as the reader will perceive, professes to afford to the Public "the principal, if not the only means of knowing the political opinions" of the great Nullifier, from 1811, to 1843. And yet, this same ostentatious publication, intended to deceive and mislead the Public, *omits the larger half of Mr Calhoun's speeches*, and especially all those in which he advocated *Whig* measures, and opposed what are now called *Democratic* doctrines!

On this subject, the National Intelligencer makes the following appropriate remarks:

"The first speech in the book before us is that delivered by Mr. CALHOUN in the House of Representatives December 19, 1811, on a Report from the Committee of Foreign Relations. The *next* Speech in the book is that "against the Force Bill," delivered on the 15th of February, 1833! leaving an entire blank for the period of twenty-two years of Mr. CALHOUN's life, during which, it would appear from this book, professing to give *all* his Speeches on the great questions of the day, that he never opened his lips in public, though, during a considerable part of that time, there was hardly a day in which he did not captivate his associates in Congress by his attractive theories, or dazzle them with the brilliance of his eloquence.

Without dwelling upon the *motive* of this studied concealment of all that gave elevation and distinction to Mr CALHOUN in his meridian—which is too obvious to need remark—it is *our* purpose to supply in part, the *hiatus* left by this book in the political history of Mr. CALHOUN. We shall not observe exactly chronological order in our publication of

his *suppressed* Speeches ; but shall publish that first which is nearest at hand, being his opening Speech in 1816 on the bill to incorporate the Bank of the United States. We begin this speech, because, in the Address of the South Carolina Convention nominating him as a candidate for the Presidency, we find hostility to a Bank of the United States ranked among his cardinal political virtues. " Few men have been so efficient," says this Address, " in saving the liberties of the country from the most dangerous of all the instruments of Federalism, a United States Bank."

How justly Mr. CALHOUN is entitled to the credit of saving the country from the dangers of a National Bank, his *suppressed* speeches now being published by the *Intelligencer*, and his *vote* to create the Bank of 1816, will abundantly testify ! And all attempts to mystify this part of the history of Mr. CALHOUN's political life, will only make the matter worse. The zealous support which he gave to the establishment of the late Bank of the United States, is a matter of too great public notoriety to be forgotten. It is impossible to explain away a fact which stands so deeply engraven on the public records, as that JOHN C. CALHOUN was the *Father* of the Bank of 1816. In fact, it was only eight years ago, that he claimed that paternity in open Senate. In a speech of his, reported by himself, delivered on the 13th of January, 1834, he thus asserted it:—

" I might say with truth that the Bank OWES AS MUCH TO ME as to any other individual in the country ; and I might even add, that, had it not been for MY EFFORTS, IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CHARTERED."—*Reg. Debates*, Vol. X. p. 213.

Another of his *suppressed* speeches, delivered in April, 1816, was on Mr. Randolph's motion *to strike out the minimum valuation on Cotton Goods*. This debate was on " THE DEGREE OF PROTECTION, which ought to be afforded to our cotton and woollen manufactures," as Mr. CALHOUN announced in his opening remarks ! From that speech we will only give the following extract :

" Another objection had been made which, he must acknowledge, was better founded—that capital employed in manufacturing produced a greater dependence on the part of the employed than in commerce, navigation, or agriculture. It is certainly an evil, and to be regretted ; but he did not think it a decisive objection to THE SYSTEM ; especially when it had incidental political advantages, which, in his opinion, more than counterpoised it. IT PRODUCED AN INTEREST STRICTLY AMERICAN, as much so as in agriculture ; in which it had the decided advantage of commerce or navigation. The country will from this derive much advantage. Again, it is calculated to bind together more closely our widely spread Republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse ; and will, as a necessary consequence,, excite an increased attention to Internal

Improvement, a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and THE PERFECTION OF OUR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely, that it would form a new and most powerful cement, and *far outweighing any political objections* that might be urged against THE SYSTEM. In his opinion the LIBERTY and the UNION of this country were inseparably united! That, as the destruction of the latter would most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will, with equal certainty, preserve it. He did not speak lightly. He had often and long revolved it in his mind, and he had critically examined into the causes that destroyed the liberty of other States. There are none that apply to us, or apply with a force to alarm. The basis of our Republic is too broad, and its structure too strong, to be shaken by them. Its extension and organization will be found to afford effectual security against their operation; but let it be deeply impressed on the heart of this House and country, that, while they guarded against the old, they exposed us to a *new and terrible danger, DISUNION. This single word comprehended almost the sum of our political dangers; against it we ought to be perpetually guarded.*"

"It is in the face of such Speeches as this (which also was revised for the press by the orator himself) that the South Carolina Convention, in its Address to the People of the United States, gravely declares that Mr. CALHOUN "recognises *no justice in TARIFFS, taxing unequally the labor and capital of the farmer, the planter, the merchant, the mechanic, the shipmaster, and all other industrial pursuits, to give protection to, and make the labor and capital of the manufacturer profitable; that between a tariff of protection, and a tariff of revenue discriminating for protection, he is able to see no difference in constitutional principle; and he holds the one as much as the other repugnant to natural justice and the plainest principles of political economy, and in their tendency subversive of the very ends of civil society.*"

[From the Indiana Journal.]

MR. VAN BUREN'S PRINCIPLES. *Evidences of his opposition to the poor man's vote. His opposition to the vote of poor revolutionary soldiers! The proof taken from the proceedings and debates of the Convention of 1821, assembled for the purpose of amending the Constitution of the State of New York.*

Reader, below we furnish you more of the odious opinions of Martin Van Buren, whom, as you see by the Locofoco papers, that party intends, if you will aid them, to set over you once more as Ruler.—Here are date and page of the Journals of Convention referred to.—Listen to this man's language interference to the poor Revolutionary soldier. He would have *rich negroes* vote, but would deny to the worn out patriot whose fortune and strength had been expended in the Revolutionary struggle, the right to vote under the government whose liberties his sword had aided in achieving! Here is the extract:

MARTIN VAN BUREN OPPOSED TO UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.—*Journal of Congress*, page 139.

Mr. Jay for the sake of relieving the embarrassments of the committee, moved to strike out from Gen. Root's amendments the words "or being armed and equipped according to law, shall have performed within the year military duty in the militia of this State."

Jour. of Con. page 140.—The question was taken and decided in the negative, ayes 26 nays 92; *Mr. Van Buren* voting in the negative. 140

Gen. Tallmadge then moved to strike out "or on the high ways;" he was for confining the qualification of voters, to such as do military duty and pay taxes.

Col. Young replied, and was opposed to strike out. Mr. Van Buren supported the motion for striking out. The people (he said) *were not prepared for universal suffrage*.

Gen. Root replied, that if the clause were stricken out it would disfranchise a numerous class of persons who ought to vote.

Mr. Russel was against striking out. "It would disfranchise many who ought to vote. He recollected a revolutionary soldier in his town, who was at the siege of Quebec, and another who was at the storming of Stony Point, and neither would have a vote if this motion prevailed."

September 27, 1821.

An amendment of Gen. Tallmadge was under consideration. —See page 141.

Jour. of Con. page 141—Gen. Root said the amendment provided for the disfranchisement of a numerous class of citizens. He enlarged upon the remarks of the gentleman from Niagara, Mr. Russell, who mentioned two instances in his town, where two Revolutionary patriots and soldiers one of whom fought with Montgomery under the walls of Quebec, and the other under Wayne at Stony Point, would be disfranchised if this provision was stricken out," &c.

"Mr. Van Buren said he felt himself called upon to make a few remarks in reply to the gentleman from Delaware, (Gen. Root.) He observed that it was evident, and indeed some gentlemen did not seem disposed to disguise it, that the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Delaware (Gen. Root) *contemplated nothing short of universal suffrage*. Mr. Van Buren did not believe that there were twenty members to the committee who, were the bare *naked question of universal suffrage*, put to them, would vote in its favor, and he was very sure that its adoption was not expected, and would not meet the views of their constituents. Mr. Van Buren then replied to a statement made yesterday by his honorable and venerable friend from Erie (Mr. Russell) in relation to the exclusion of soldiers who had fought at Quebec and Stony Point; under the banner of Montgomery and Wayne. And he felt the necessity of doing this because such cases urged by such gentlemen as his honorable friend were calculated to make a deep and lasting impression.

• • • —“Few of those patriots were living, and of that few the number was yearly diminishing. In fifteen years the grave will have covered all those who now survive. Was it then unwise to add a *wholesome* restrictive provision, lest, in its operation, it might affect these few individuals for a short time? He would add no more. His duty would not permit him to say less.”

“One word (continued Mr. Van Buren) on the **MAIN QUESTION** before the Committee. We had already *reached the verge of universal suffrage*. There was but one step beyond. And are gentlemen prepared to take that step? *We are cheapening this invaluable right!*

He was disposed to go as far as any man in the extension of rational liberty; but he could not consent to undervalue this precious privilege, so far as to confer it with an indiscriminating hand upon every one black and white, who would be kind enough to accept it.”—See Jour. Con. page 141.

The question on striking out “*or on the high ways,*” was taken by ayes and nays—and decided in the affirmative, ayes 68, nays 48.—**MARTIN VAN BUREN** voting in the affirmative, and thus voting to exclude from the right of suffrage a large class of citizens and also soldiers of the revolution.—See Jour. Con. p. 141.

The effect of this striking out of the words “*or on the highways,*” was to exclude from voting all those who did not pay taxes, and who, if those words had been left in the Constitution, might have voted, by working on the high ways to the amount of **SIXTY-TWO AND A HALF CENTS**.

Martin Van Buren, by this vote says No—you poor laborers, why do not you pay taxes &c., stand aside, you shall **NOT VOTE**. The effect of this vote to strike out “*white,*” as before shown, was to *admit negroes* to vote on the same footing with white men!!

This is Martin Van Buren, who is called by the office holders, the friend of the **POOR MAN!!**

SEPTEMBER 28, 1821.

Jour. Con. page 145. Judge Van Ness moved for a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday, striking out the words “*or on the highways.*”

After a long discussion the question of reconsideration was taken and decided in the affirmative.

Col. Young, then called for the consideration of Mr. Wheeler's amendment.—See Jour. of Con. p. 145.

Mr. Wheeler spoke at length in its favor. He was in favor of universal suffrage, with such exceptions and limitation as might be conducive of the public welfare.—See Jour. Con. p. 145.

Judge Platt opposed the amendment on the ground that it went in favor of universal suffrage.

Mr. Van Buren “occupied the floor for some time in expressing his sentiments decidedly against the amendment, *and universal suffrage.*

We are (he said) hazzarding every thing to such lengths in the amendments, &c.," Page 145.

Mr. Tompkins supported the amendment and thought too much alarm had been created by the bug bear universal suffrage. Taxation, as applied to representation, meant liability to taxation. How was it when no taxes were imposed in this State? Were there no representation? &c. Page 145.

Jour. Con. page 145. The question on Mr. Wheeler's amendment was taken by ayes and nays, and decided in the affirmative, ayes 63, nays 55, *Martin Van Buren voting in the negative* and against universal suffrage!!

THE MISSOURI QUESTION.—We have brought forward this question here, for the purpose of showing how MARTIN VAN BUREN did battle for the interests and institutions of the South, while he was a *Northern man with Southern principles!* Where was his love for the South and her institutions when the *Missouri Question* was agitated before the country? Let the following *record facts* answer. Let them show, as they will, that while HENRY CLAY was going the entire figure in defence of the South and West, at the same time and on the same occasion, MARTIN VAN BUREN was exerting his whole influence and energies, to exclude Missouri from the Union, unless slavery were prohibited within her limits! Think of this ye abolition-hating Democrats! And if you have regard to *professions* and *declarations*, say, is Mr. VAN BUREN not a friend of abolition and abolitionists? But to the *record*:

"NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.—*Preamble and Resolutions.* Whereas the inhibiting the further extension of slavery in the U. S., is a subject of deep concern to the people of this State, and whereas, we consider slavery as an evil, much to be deplored, and that every constitutional barrier should be interposed to prevent its further extension; and that the Constitution of the U. S. clearly gives Congress the right to require of new States, not comprehended within the original boundaries of the U. States, the prohibiting of slavery as a condition of their admission into the Union,—Therefore,

Resolved. (if the honorable Senate concur therein,) That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress be requested, to oppose the admission as a State into the Union, of any territory, not comprised as aforesaid, making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission.

On the 29th of January, 1820, the Senate took up the resolution and passed the same unanimously, the following members being present

Messrs. Adams, Austin, Barnum, Bartow, Browne, Childs, Dudley, Dayton, Ditmiss, Evans, Forthington, Hammond, Hart, Livingston, Loundsberry, McMartin, Moans, Mallory, Moore, Noyes, Paine, Ross, Rosencrantz, Skinner, Swan, VAN BUREN, Wilson, Young—30."

RUFUS KING, an old Federalists of '98, was about that time in nomi-

nation for U. S. Senator from New York. Mr. Van Buren was his warm supporter, and wrote as follows, pressing his election :

" I should sorely regret [says he] to find any flagging on the subject of Mr. King. We are committed to his support. It is both wise and honest; and we must have no fluttering in our course. Mr. King's views towards us are honorable and correct. The MISSOURI QUESTION conceals, as far as he is concerned, no plot; and we shall give it a true direction. You know what the views and feelings of our friends were when I saw you, and you know what we then concluded to do. My " CONSIDERATIONS," and the aspect of the Albany Argus, will show that we have entered on the work in good earnest.— We cannot look back. Let us not, therefore, have any halting. I PUT MY HEAD ON ITS PROPRIETY."

The foregoing is published in Holland's " Life of Van Buren ; " an electioneering work written by a warm partizan of his. After citing this extract, Professor Holland proceeds to remark :

" The attention of the Legislature of New York was called to the question of admitting Missouri into the Union, with the right to hold slaves, in the message of Gov. Clinton, at the opening of the session in January, 1820. An expression of their opinion was earnestly recommended. In compliance with this recommendation, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives of the State in Congress to oppose the admission, as a State, in the Union, of any Territory not comprised within the original boundary of the United States, without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission ! The Senate concurred in this resolution, without division or debate, and among them MR. VAN BUREN, tho' it was not brought before the Legislature by his agency. Still he must be regarded as having concurred at that time, in the sentiment of the resolution then adopted by the Legislature."—*Holland's Life of Van Buren.*

[From the Spirit of '76, of July 15th, 1840.]

HOOE'S CASE—FREE NEGRO TESTIMONY.—The papers which we publish to-day on the subject of Lieut. Hooe's case, show that that officer was tried before a Naval Court Martial at Pensacola, Commander Levy being his prosecutor. On the trial, TWO FREE NEGROES, servants of Commander Levy, the prosecutor, were offered as witnesses against the lieutenant. He objected to their competency, but the court admitted them, and they gave evidence against the accused. He caused his objection to these witnesses to be entered upon the record of the proceedings of the court. Sentence having been pronounced upon him, and the record having been transmitted to James K. Paulding, the Secretary of the Navy, he approved of them. The defendant appealed to the President, who merely endorsed upon them, that there was nothing in them requiring his interference.

So then, it is the law of this administration, that free negroes are good witnesses against the officers of the Navy and Army; and of the United

States, while in the military service. Very good, let us see how it will work. Suppose the plan proposed by Mr. Van Buren and his Secretary for the organization of the militia should pass and become a law, and under it our Generals Battle and Hardin are, in the course of events, brought before a court martial for unofficer-like conduct, &c.—On the trial, Mr. Prosecutor and the judge advocate are called upon for their witnesses, and they bring up two free negroes of Nashville, whose names delicacy forbids us to mention; which two free negroes have been the hirelings of the prosecutor. Of course our Generals object with might and main, and flaming speeches are pronounced against the insult by the counsel, who produce the law and constitution of Tennessee upon the point. But the Judge Advocate coolly responds;—"All this was done in Hooe's case, but the testimony was admitted, and the proceedings were approved by the Secretary of the Navy, and by the President too, on solemn appeal, on which this very point was relied upon." The precedent is unanswerable, and the testimony is admitted, and our generals are thereupon dismissed from the service with all the aggravation of a reprimand in the face of 12,500 men from 3 or 4 States.

Will the editor of the Union let us hear from "*our* legal pen" upon this subject?

But while that gentleman is inditing his defence of the administration, a work very germane to his labors at New Bedford, we will just take the liberty to say that the ignorance of law and of constitutions which this administration has exhibited, is not the least remarkable trait of its character. In the plan for the organization of the militia submitted by the Secretary of War to Mr. Van Buren on the 30th of November, and by him recommended to the attention of Congress in the strongest terms, the Constitution of the U. S. is palpably violated in one of the most important of its provisions; and now again, in this free negro business, the most lamentable ignorance of law is displayed. If the head of this administration has a single merit which entitles him to the post which he occupies, we shall be glad to hear of it. Can't our neighbor give us disquisition upon the point?

NEGROES GIVING TESTIMONY AGAINST A WHITE MAN—MR. VAN BUREN SUSTAINING THIS COURSE—HIS RESPECT FOR THE FEELINGS OF SOUTHERN AND WESTERN MEN.—We invite particular attention to the facts set forth in the following official extracts from the Record. If any Southern or Western man can stomach such conduct, he is prepared for any thing:
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, June 12, 1840.

Mr. Botts, of Virginia, asked leave to offer the following preamble and resolution, observing that he held himself personally and as a representative, responsible for the truth of every word and syllable contained in the preamble, as established from a personal examination of the records of the case.

Whereas, by reference to the proceedings of a Naval General Court Martial, held in the month of May, 1839, on board the United States

ship Macedonian, then lying in Pensacola Bay, for the trial of Lt. George Mann Hooe, of Va., of the United States Navy, on charges and specifications originally preferred against him by Commander Uriah P. Levy; among other irregularities complained of by the accused, the following facts will appear, which call loudly for redress, to wit:

That on the 30th day of May, James Mitchell, the steward, a negro servant of the said Commander Uriah P. Levy, of the U. S. ship Vandalia, was called upon and sworn as a witness on behalf of the prosecution, to testify against the said Lieut. Hooe; that the accused objected to the examination of the witness upon the ground that he was a colored man; that the Court, after deliberation, did not consider the objection a valid one, and ordered the examination to proceed; that the accused then offered the following protest, which was, at his request, spread upon record:

"The accused begs leave to state to the Court, most distinctly, that he solemnly protests against the evidence of this witness being received and recorded. It is far from the wish of the accused to object to any evidence which the Court may deem legal; but the witness is a colored man, and therefore, in the opinion of the accused, is not a competent witness, even before this tribunal.

"G. M. HOOE,

"Lieutenant U. S. Navy."

Whereupon, the witness proceeded to deliver his evidence before the Court; upon the conclusion of which, the accused offered the following paper in writing, which, at his request, was also spread upon the record:

"The accused having protested against the evidence of this witness, on the ground that he conceives his testimony to be altogether illegal; that he knows it would be so considered before the civil tribunals of this Territory, the forms and customs of which, he humbly thinks, should be as closely followed by a martial court as possible; therefore asks to spread upon record the fact that he cannot consent to, and has totally declined cross-examining this witness.

"GEORGE MANN HOOE,

"Lieut. U. S. N."

That on the same day, to wit, the 30th day of May, Daniel Waters, a negro cook, and private servant of the said original prosecutor, Uriah P. Levy: was called, sworn, and examined before the Court, whereupon the accused presented the following paper in writing, which, at his request, was spread upon the record, to wit:

"The Court having decided to receive and record the testimony of colored persons, the accused, in regard to this witness, can only reiterate his objections as set forth in the case of Mitchell, the Captain's steward! The accused will pursue the same course with this witness that he decided to take with the other colored man.

GEORGE MANN HOOE,

"Lieut. U. S. N."

That the trial progressed until Wednesday, the 5th day of June, when

the Court entered up its judgment, of which the following is the conclusion :

"And the Court therefore hath and doth sentence the said Lieut. George M. Hooe, to be dismissed from the West India squadron, after having been reprimanded in general orders by the honorable Secretary of the Navy."

Which said proceedings are endorsed,

"Approved,

J. K. PAULDING."

That, on the return of the President of the United States to the seat of Government, the said Lieut. George M. Hooe addressed a remonstrance to His Excellency the President, complaining of the irregularities of the Court, generally, which remonstrance concludes with the following statement :

"There is one other point in the proceedings of the Court (touching their legality) to which I invite the particular attention of your Excellency. It respects a matter to which all Southern men are deeply sensitive—and, if not over-ruled by your Excellency, will assuredly drive many valuable men from the Navy. In the progress of the proceedings of this Court, two negroes, one the cook, and the other private steward of Commander Levy, were introduced as witnesses against me. I protested against their legal competency to be witnesses in the Territory of Florida, on the ground that they were negroes. The Court disregarded my exception, and, as the record shows, they were allowed to be examined, and testify on my trial. This I charge as a proceeding illegal and erroneous on the part of the Court, and, if so, according to established law and precedent, must vitiate and set aside their whole proceedings. All which is most respectfully submitted to your consideration and final decision, by

"Your obedient servant,

"GEORGE MANN HOOE,

"Lieut. U. S. Navy."

That, after examination of the record, the President returned the same to the Navy Department, with the following endorsement :

"The President finds nothing in the proceedings in the case of Lieut. Hooe which requires his interference. M. V. B."

And whereas, the introduction of negroes and private servants of the prosecutor as witnesses to testify against the characters of gentlemen of the Navy, in service of their country, is a practice, though sanctioned by the President of the United States, that will not be justified, and ought not to be tolerated by Southern men, or "*Northern men with Southern principles*," and, if not corrected, must operate as a serious injury to the Navy, to the humiliation of its officers, and to the infinite discredit of the Government :

Resolved, therefore, That the Secretary of the Navy be required to communicate to this House a copy of the proceedings of the court martial held for the trial of Lieut. George M. Hooe, that his wrongs may be promptly redressed, and the evils complained of corrected with
a delay.

Mr. Dromgoole inquired what measure of redress his colleague proposed by the introduction of this resolution!

Mr. Stanly called Mr. Dromgoole to order, making some remarks which, from the confusion which immediately arose, were inaudible to the reporter.

The Chair said the resolution could not be received only by general consent.

Mr. F. Thomas, of Maryland, objected.

Mr. Botts thereupon moved to suspend the rules, and demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and were as follows:—Yeas, 95—Nays, 85. So the rules were not suspended.

[From the Richmond Whig.]

NEGRO TESTIMONY.—*Case of Lieut. Hooe.*—"The principle established in the case of Lieut. Hooe, and approved by the Secretary of the Navy and the President, of admitting negroes to testify against officers of the Navy, has excited much feeling in this State. It is one of those questions on which the people feel more than they reason, and it is one which warrants the strongest indignation which can inflame the bosoms of a free people. It is a measure, more deeply imbued with the spirit of abolitionism, than any which has come to our knowledge, and in its practicable effects, it goes further to put the negro upon a footing of equality with the white man—the great object of the Abolitionists—than any thing ever achieved by Tappan or Garrison. The social equality between the white and black races, preached and practised by a few fanatic women, such as Miss Grimke, Miss Abby Kelley, &c., and a few designing hypocritical men, has produced, and can produce, no bad effects. Examples set by such characters, carry no weight and influence; they only serve to bring their authors into odium and contempt. But the affair assumes a very different aspect, when the first officer of the Government, and the Minister of the Marine, sanction a principle, which reduces every gentleman in the American Navy to a *quasi* level with free blacks. Here the elevated stations of those who set the example, and the high authority with which they are invested, conspire to attach more importance to their precepts and practices. No man in the public service can disregard the one or dispute the other with impunity. Their *ipse dixit* is law to the Army and the Navy, and whatever regulations they may adopt, are imperative upon all connected with either of those important branches of the public service.

It is in this light, in which we regard the principle established in the case of Lieut. Hooe, and which invests that decision with a pervading and enduring importance. It is a direct insult offered by the President and his naval Minister, to the feelings of a large portion of the American people, and in subjecting the conduct of the Naval officers to the surveillance of the black servants of the commander reduces them to a state of degradation to which neither Northern nor Southern gentlemen can submit. This cannot fail to exert a most baneful influence upon that favorite arm of the national defence. Gentlemen of honor and sensibility will, by degrees, be banished from the service, and they will

be succeeded by a mean-spirited generation, willing and fit instruments to do the bidding of a master.

But there is another consequence resulting from the principle here established, of not less consequence. If negro testimony is admissible in the Navy, is it not admissible in the Army, and even in the Federal courts! We cannot conceive of a reason for a distinction, and we presume there is none. An officer of the army may be cashiered upon the strength of negro testimony, since a Lieut. in the Navy has been reprimanded and dismissed upon the testimony of two servants of *Capt. Uriah P. Levy*! And in the Federal court, any individual, if this principle be recognized, may be prosecuted by the Government for a breach of the Revenue or any other laws, and by the testimony of his own servant, be amerced. Suppose, for example, the Government should arraign a citizen of Richmond upon the charge of smuggling English cheese, or any other article paying duty—The case comes before Judge Peter V. Daniel—Suppose the accused to be an incorrigible Whig; his servant or that of some other man is summoned to give testimony—conviction ensues, as a matter of course,—and his Honor, the Judge, has the supreme felicity of passing sentence upon the political reprobate.

This is not an impossibility—it is the legitimate sequence of the principles established in the case of Lieut. Hooe—i. e. that negroes are competent witnesses in cases in which the United States or any of its officers are interested.

Since the facts in this extraordinary case were brought to light, several efforts have been made by the understrappers of the party to relieve the Administration of the odium. The *Globe* has put forth sundry articles, distinguished much more for their violence than respect of truth. The *Enquirer*, always Charley at the hole, has lent a helping hand. This worthy in his *other* self as Editor of the '*Crisis*,' has procured a letter from Mr. Paulding to exonerate Mr. Van Buren from all blame in the premises. The design, as in the case of Mr. Poinsett and the Standing Army, is decidedly good; but here, as there, the execution is decidedly bad. The Hon. Secretary hits wide of the mark, and does not touch the true matter in issue. In other words, he admits the offence charged, and does not touch the true matter in mitigation of damages. He admits that negroes, and they the servants of *Capt. Uriah P. Levy*, were introduced as witnesses against Lieut. Hooe! This cannot be palliated by any combination of circumstances, or be made palatable to *white* gentlemen, either north or south. His apologies for *approving* proceedings so novel and revolting, are: 1. "The admission of the description of testimony objected to by Mr. Hooe, is a universal practice on board of ships of war." So much the worse if it be so, and the greater the necessity for arresting such a practice. But can another instance of this kind be adduced? We never heard of one before. 2. "This decision was no doubt made on the ground, that no disqualification of a legal nature, which could only exist by a law of Congress, was shown." This admits every thing—and claims what we before stated was a legitimate sequence of the decision that negro testimony is admissible in the

Army and in the Federal Courts! 3. "The evidence of the negroes may be *entirely rejected* without affecting the sentence of the Court." How does the Secretary know this? But it is a rule of law as well as of common sense, that irrelevant testimony shall not be admitted, for there is no calculating what undue bias it may exert on the minds of the jurors—and if admitted, it is good cause for an appellate jurisdiction to set aside the decision. But all this has nothing to do with the main point. Of the merits of the decision, so far as relates to Lieut. Hooe, we know nothing, and they have nothing to do with the question we are discussing—i. e. the admissibility of negro testimony against white men. 'This is the great matter—this it is which does violence to the feelings of the people, and which the Secretary of the Navy and the President have approved. 'The 4th excuse is for the President, and is full of quibbling, *a la mode* his associate, Poinsett. It is as follows:

"It is not deemed necessary to go further into this subject than merely to add, that the President had nothing to do with the Court or its proceedings. The judgment of the Court was approved, and carried into effect by the order of this Department—the approval or opinion of any higher power was not necessary."

No one supposed the President had any thing to do with "the Court or its proceedings," which were held according to the Secretary, "on board a U. S. Ship of war in the Bay of Pensacola." But he had something to do with them afterwards at Washington. The facts are these: The proceedings are sent to Washington; they were endorsed by the Secretary;

"APPROVED,

J. K. PAULDING."

Lieut. Hooe then appealed from the decision of the Court and the approval of the Secretary, to the President. In his memorial to that high Functionary, he expressly complained of the illegality of the negro testimony, and asked the especial attention of the President to it. The President examined the record and memorial, and returned the same to the Navy Department with the following endorsement:

"THE PRESIDENT FINDS NOTHING IN THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASE OF LIEUT. HOOE, WHICH REQUIRES HIS INTERFERENCE.
M. V. B."

This leaves no loop-hole for escape. Out of his own mouth he is condemned. But we will do the President the justice to say, his conduct in this particular is consistent with his past life, and in perfect keeping with his advocacy of *Free Negro Suffrage*. He who had maintained the fitness of the African race to exercise the highest rights of a freeman, that of electing Legislators and rulers, could not consistently object to their competency as witnesses before civil and military tribunals.

[From the Jonesborough Whig of September 30, 1840.]

THE STANDING ARMY—A NEW DISCOVERY—MR. VAN BUREN CONVICTED OF FALSEHOOD—GEN. JACKSON'S OPINIONS OF A PERMANENT MILITARY FORCE—OUT-

LINE OF THE ARMY BILL BY THE MADISONIAN— CONCLUDING REMARKS BY THE PRESENT EDITOR.—

The Army Bill of the Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett, endorsed by President Van Buren, in his last annual Message, has met with such general disapprobation, and proved so injurious to the cause of the Spoilers, that they have lied, twisted, and turned a hundred ways, to avoid its pernicious influences. We now have it in our power to present this step towards arbitrary power in its true colors, with the falsehoods of Mr Van Buren, and the gross blunders of his supporters, to which we call the attention of all parties.

We commence with the letter of eight members of Congress, to the citizens of the United States, and an extract from the President's Message, *certified to* by the Democratic Clerk of the House of Representatives, which place the charge of the President's *endorsement* beyond the reach of contradiction:—

“WASHINGTON, May 26, 1840.

To our Fellow-Citizens:

We have been informed that the editors of some newspapers, who advocate the re-election of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, have refused to publish the recommendations and *project* of the Secretary of War for the organization and discipline of the militia of the United States, with the approval of the President. Being also informed that the authenticity of those portions of the Message of the President submitted to Congress, have been frequently denied, when published in newspapers, we have, for the purpose of removing all doubts, procured duly certified copies of that portion of the message, and all the reports of the Secretary of War submitted at the present session of Congress, that relate to the subject, which we present for your consideration.

R. GARLAND, of Louisiana.	JNO. BELL, of Tennessee.
M. H. GRINNELL, of New York.	JNO. M. BOTTS, of Virginia.
TRUMAN SMITH, of Conn.	CHARLES NAYLOR, of Pa.
L. SALTONSTALL, of Mass.	J. C. CLARK, of New York.

Extract from the Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, December 2, 1839.

“The present condition of the defences of our principal seaports and navy yards, as represented by the accompanying report of the Secretary of War, calls for the early and serious attention of Congress; and, as connecting itself intimately with this subject, *I cannot recommend too strongly to your consideration, the plan submitted by that officer*, for the reorganization of the militia of the United States.

OFFICE HOUSE of REP. }
May 23, 1840. }

At the request of a member of Congress, I have compared the above extract from the President's Message, with the original on file in my

office, and find it to be correct, and to be contained in the message that relates to the subject of the extract.

H. A. GARLAND,
Clerk House Rep. U. S."

Now, notwithstanding Mr. Van Buren *endorsed* this Army Bill, and called the attention of Congress to it, since he has witnessed its bad effects in the community at large, he has *denied* having ever seen the plan, and has actually *compelled* his Secretary of War, in a communication to Congress, to *acquit* him of any participation in the matter, and to take it upon *himself*! At page 44 of Doc. No. 2, 26th Congress, 1st Session, the original proposition, endorsed by the President, is stated in the following language by his Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett:

"It is proposed to divide the United States into eight military districts, so as to have a body of twelve thousand five hundred men *in active service*; and another of equal number as a reserve. This would give an armed military force of two hundred thousand men, *so drilled and stationed*, as to be ready to take their places in the ranks in defence of their country whenever called upon to oppose the enemy or repel the invader. The whole term of service to be eight years; four years in the first class and four in the reserve. One fourth part, twenty-five thousand men, to leave the *service* every year, passing at the conclusion, into the reserve, and exempted from ordinary military duty altogether, at the end of the second. In this manner twenty-five thousand men will be discharged from military duty every year, and twenty-five thousand fresh *recruits* be received into the *service*. It will be sufficient for all useful purposes, that the remainder of the militia, under certain regulations provided for their government, be enrolled and be mustered at long and stated intervals; for in due process of time, *nearly the whole mass of the militia will pass through the first and second classes* and be either members of the active corps, or of the reserve, or counted among the exempts, who will be liable to be called upon only in periods of invasion or imminent peril. The manner of enrolment, the number of days of service, and the rate of compensation ought to be fixed by law: but the details had better be left subject to regulation; a plan of which I am prepared to submit to you."

This one thing we will now do, we will give an extract or two from a letter recently written by Mr. Van Buren, to a committee of his friends in Virginia, in answer to five interrogatories propounded to him, in a letter bearing date of June 12, 1840.

The answer of Mr. Van Buren, is dated July 31, 1840—and in reply to the question whether or no, he "approves of the plan of Mr. Poinsett for the organization of the militia," he says:—"My knowledge of military affairs is *very limited*; but I will nevertheless give you such views as I have been able to take of the subject of your enquiry!"

Here it will be seen, that the President's "knowledge of military affairs is very limited," notwithstanding his Biographer, in "Holland's

life of Van Buren," labors to show his "knowledge of military affairs," is *very extensive*, by the introduction of a military measure he once succeeded in passing through the Legislature of New York! Of this measure we shall have occasion to speak presently.

In this same ponderous letter, written to this Virginia Committee on the subject of Mr. Poinsett's alias *Mr. Van Buren's* proposition for a Standing Army, the President says:

"It is *but lately* that my attention has been *particularly* drawn to this subject, and, as there is no doubt that the great men to whom I have alluded contemplated an organization of the militia, and provisions for its better instruction, embracing substantially the principles contained in *Mr. Poinsett's plan*, it becomes me, in the face of so much apparent authority, to *hesitate* before I pronounce definitely upon its constitutionality. I shall, I am confident, in the opinion of all candid minds, best perform my duty by refraining to do so, until it becomes necessary to act *officially* in the matter. In the mean time, I will content myself with saying, that the desired measure cannot be safely accomplished, in the form proposed under the Federal Constitution as it stands!!!"

Thus it will be seen, that the President is convicted of *wilful and deliberate lying*. He is guilty of lying, because it is a principle in law, that the *suppression* of truth, is equivalent to the *expression* of falsehood. The foregoing avowal of Mr. Van Buren's is false by *suppression*—false by *misrepresentation*—and false by *denial*.

In the Tennessee Sentinel of the 29th of February 1810, there is an editorial headed "*Organization of the Militia*," supposed to be written by a *cousin-in-law* of the present editor of that sheet, defending the plan of Mr. Poinsett, and Mr. Van Buren's *endorsement*; and frankly acknowledging, in so many words, that the object of that scheme is in part, to protect the people against the encroachments of the Whigs, who are modestly styled "ALIEN AND SEDITION GAGGERS!"

In the Sentinel of June 6th, 1810, there is a long editorial, headed "*Standing Army*," in which the stupid Ass, who now edits that paper, holds forth in these words:

"The Secretary, in obedience to the resolutions of Congress, makes a report which extorts the praise and admiration of all the candid of his political opponents—it is recommended to the consideration of Congress BY THE PRESIDENT—and presently the British Federal Whig Party raise the hue and cry of Standing Army!"

In this same editorial, this plan of Mr. Poinsett's is styled "superior in every respect"—"free from any well founded objections"—"a judicious and simple *classification* of the militia"—"a wise measure—a measure necessary to secure the public safety," &c!

* And in this same Sentinel, of Sept. 19, 1810, edited, we suppose, in

the absence of *drunken* Tom, by a *cousin-in-law* of his, in an editorial headed "Gen. Harrison's Standing Army," the writer has the audacity to pronounce Poinsett's scheme "innocent and harmless"—and even goes so far as to say, that "Mr. Poinsett proposes nothing new—nothing that has not been previously recommended" by other Presidents!

Again—In a recent number of the *Globe*, a most miserable and shameful effort is made to even shield *Mr. Poinsett* from the responsibility of the authorship of this famous Army Bill. The *Globe* says:

"It was framed by Maj. Samuel Cooper, one of the Assistant Adjutants General of the Army (Capt. De Hart,) was charged by the Secretary of War, with the duty of arranging and embodying *the details of his plan*, and by whom *the bill in question* was prepared for the committee, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PLAN!"

Really, these desperate efforts of the President, Secretary of War, and *Globe* editor, to extricate themselves from the fatal consequences of this army bill, are, in our opinion, supremely ridiculous. Were we in their places, we would now deny that ever such a bill was drawn up!

In Holland's *Life of Van Buren*, page 98, it is said, in reference to a Militia Bill, he introduced and passed through the Legislature of New York:

"During this special session, Mr. Van Buren *matured, brought forward, and defended in debate*, several war measures of the *strongest character*. Of these, the most prominent was, "*An act to authorize the raising of troops for the defence of the state*," which passed both houses, and being approved by the Governor, became a law on the 24th October, 1814. It authorizes the Governor to place at the disposal of the General Government, 12,000 men for two years, to be raised by suitable classifications of the militia of the state."

Again—On the same page, the writer says:

"This law has been truly characterized by Col. Benton, in his late letter to the committee of the Mississippi Convention, '*as the most energetic war measure ever adopted in this country*.'"

Once more—In this same *Life of Van Buren*, page 108, speaking of this "classification" and "conscription" war bill as it was called, it is said:

"The principle of it was adopted by Mr. Madison's administration; recommended by the Secretary of War, Mr. Monroe, to the Congress of the United States, AND FOUND BY THAT BODY, **TOO ENERGETIC TO BE PASSED!**"

Now, what we wish to call the attention of the public to, is this: this bill of Mr. Van Buren, "*too energetic to be passed by Congress*," but which was adopted by the Legislature of New York, will be found, upon examination, to harmonize, in every material respect, with the

bill, or plan proposed by Mr. Poinsett. This is a late discovery, but for the proof, let any gentleman turn to the Journal of either the New York Legislature, or of Congress, and he will find by a comparison of these bills that Mr. Poinsett has taken his suggestions from Mr. Van Buren's bill! This being granted, and we dare any one to deny it, it follows of necessity, that Mr. Van Buren called the attention of Mr. Poinsett to the features of his "*old energetic war measure*," and is in truth, the *father* of the scheme. The guilt of lying, therefore, which attaches itself to the President's *denial*, is apparent to all, and is criminal in the first degree. For the especial benefit and instruction of that portion of the Van Buren ranks, who profess to be following little Martin, because he is following in the footsteps of old Hickory, we subjoin, in conclusion, and without comment, the following extract from the Message of Gen. Jackson, in 1834, giving his views of a Standing Army, and of an increase of the military force of this nation:

"The army is in a high state of discipline. Its moral condition, so far as that is known here, is good, and the various branches of the public service, are carefully attended to. It is **AMPLELY SUFFICIENT**, under its present organization, for providing the necessary garrison for the sea board, and for the defence of the internal frontier, and also for preserving the element of military knowledge, and for keeping pace with those improvements which **MODERN** experiments is continually making. And these objects appear to me, to embrace all the legitimate purposes for which a **PERMANENT** military force should be maintained in our country.

"The lessons of history teach us its dangers, and the tendency which exists to an increase. This can be best met and averted by a just caution on the part of the public itself, and of those who represent them in Congress."

We have a few concluding remarks to make on the subject of this *Military System* of Mr. VAN BUREN's, and we are done. After the defeat of Mr. Van Buren, in 1840, the philosophical portion of his friends, were exceedingly busy, and bothered their brains no little in the effort to assign that result to adequate causes. We announced to them then, as we do now, the true cause of his defeat, which was the disgusting absurdity and dangerous tendency of his measures, urged upon Congress for adoption. Among these, and by no means the least in point of importance, was his nefarious proposition to innovate upon our long tried militia system, and to establish on its ruins another system, with which the good people of this country had no affinities. This greatly contributed to his overthrow. He proposed an abomination in the shape of a *Standing Army* as a substitute for our venerable militia system; and the American people justly indignant at this effort, coolly turned round and put a substitute for the *Grimalkin of Kinderhook* in

the Presidential chair. Let his melancholy fate serve as a warning to all future aspirants for that office, not to lay unholy hands on that ark of our national safety. And let his *conviction of wilful falsehood*, be as a warning to all present and coming politicians, not to say a thing one day and deny it the next.

Politicians may, with comparative safety, run their brazen heads against a National Bank—they may curse a Protective Tariff—they may kick against the One Term Principle—they may denounce Mr. Clay's Land Bill, or revile against the restriction of the Veto power, until their tongues are as black as their depraved hearts; they may do all these things, we say, and be tolerated, but the moment they propose to mutilate our long tried and sublime militia system—they sign their own political death warrant—they utterly and forever annihilate their chances for future political distinction. For the truth of these remarks, look at the melancholy fate of that blasted monument of every honest man's displeasure, MARTIN VAN BUREN!

Occasionally there is a good thing found in the Madisonian, JOHN TYLER's organ. Either by accident or design, it administers the following deserved rebuke to the slanders heaped upon the virtue and intelligence of the People, by the leading Locofoco organs, in attributing the result of the election in 1840, to the influence of "*hard cider, singing, and coon-skins.*" Even Mr. Van Buren himself, great Democrat as he professes to be, in alluding to the scenes which hurled him from power, in his late Indiana letter, styles them "the disreputable scenes of 1840." Beautiful Democracy this! See how the Tyler organ takes off such compliments to the intelligence of the people:

"THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEOPLE.—It seems to us that the Globe and Richmond Enquirer do great injustice to the People of this country when they represent or countenance the idea that the great revolution of 1840 was effected by 'coon-skins hard cider and singing.' Whatever may be the taste of such exhibitions of popular feeling, still they are effects and not causes. They are effects and effervescence boils over. It might as well be said that the bubbles on the surface of a hot spring caused it to boil. Of all the people on the surface of the Globe, the Americans, from their social habits, and from their position, spread over an extensive territory, and the great body of them tillers of the earth are least likely to be induced by such means to change their opinions of public men, and to withdraw their confidence from those they had delighted to honor. Does any one believe that "hard cider, singing, and coon skins," could have shaken Gen. Jackson's popularity? The very fact that such exhibitions became general and were indulged in by immense masses, proves that the ground was prepared for them; that there was something in the condition of the country or in the measures of the Administration with which the People were dissatisfied, and they were exceedingly exhilarated by the hope of a change, and indulged

in such demonstrations as can only proceed from or be consonant with a high state of excitement. It is the custom of Aristocrats, of those who deny the capacity of the People for self-government, to represent them as the tools of demagogues, liable to be operated on through their passions and prejudices, and led to results destructive to the interests and prosperity of the country. Such, however, is not the doctrine of Democrats, we submit that those who would account for the extraordinary changes of public opinion, which occurred in 1840 by "hard cider, singing and coon skins," do but follow in the wake of the Aristocrats and Tories of Europe and America, and pay a sorry compliment to the intelligence, integrity and patriotism of their fellow-citizens."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GRAND RESULT OF THE TENNESSEE ELECTIONS—CAUSES THEREOF—SUCCESS OF THE WHIGS—THE TRUE STATE OF THE CASE

The returns from the elections of this State, though in an unofficial form, are now complete, and too much is known for the comfort of the Locofocos. The result, in a word, shows the re-election of Gov. Jones, by a majority of 4009, and a Whig Legislature by a majority of 8 on joint ballot—3 in the Senate and 5 in the House of Representatives.

EAST TENNESSEE.—In this end of the State, two years ago, Jones' majority was 3250, being a gain over his former majority of 19 votes! There are 26 counties in East Tennessee.

MIDDLE TENNESSEE.—There are 30 counties in Middle Tennessee. Five years ago, they gave Polk a majority of 2520, and this bout, they have given him a majority of only 1595, which shows a loss to him, and a gain to Jones, of 925!

WEST TENNESSEE.—In the Western division of the State, there are 17 counties. Two years ago, these counties gave Jones a majority of 2533, and this bout, they gave him a majority of 2354, being a loss to Jones of 179 only, after all the boasted gains of the enemy, on the ground of the unpopularity of the 'Tariff, among the cotton-growers of the District! Thus Jones' majority in East and West Tennessee, is 5604, from which take Polk's majority in Middle Tennessee, of 1595, and Jones is ahead just 4009.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.—Notwithstanding the revolutionary disorganizing 13 immortals, in the late State Senate, forced the Whig party to concur in their arrangement of the Districts, the Whigs nevertheless have elected *five* out of the *eleven* Congressmen. In the 3d District, where Jones got a majority of 760, Blackwell, a Loco, is elected by *eighty* votes. And in two other Districts where Locos are elected, to wit, A. V. Brown and Cave Johnson, they got in *by the skin of their teeth*, though they had the advantage of heavy majorities to start upon. In almost every other District where a Loco is elected, the majority of the party is considerably reduced.

The following exhibit of the Congressional Districts and candidates, of this State, will not be uninteresting at this time, while it will serve for future reference :

1st. DISTRICT—Composed of the counties of Johnson, Carter, Sullivan, Washington, Hawkins, Greene and Cocke. Loco majority 731. John A. Aiken and Andrew Johnson were contesting for this district. Johnson succeeded by about 400 votes, while Polk's majority over Jones, was reduced from 731, to 375!

2nd. DISTRICT—Jefferson, Grainger, Claiborne, Campbell, Anderson, Morgan, & Sevier, Blount and Monroe. Whig majority 2942. Candidates—Wm. T. Senter, Whig; W. W. Wallace, Loco. Senter succeeded by the rise of 2000 votes, which was a great triumph, in view of the fact, that two Whig candidates run till near the close of the contest. Jones' majority over Polk, in the same District, the data upon which the forenamed majority was founded, is 2864.

3d. DISTRICT—Knox, Roane, Bledsoe, Rhea, Meigs, McMinn, Polk, Bradley, Hamilton and Marion. Whig majority 1002. Candidates—Thomas J. Campbell, Whig; Julius W. Blackwell, Loco. Blackwell succeeded, as before named, by a majority of *eighty* votes, while Jones' majority over Polk, is 760, which shows the District to be still Whig.

4th. DISTRICT—Fentress, Overton, Jackson, White, De Kalb, Van Buren, Warren, Coffee.—Loco majority 1335. Candidates—Alvan Cullom Locofoco; Mr. Bransford, Whig. Cullom was elected by a majority of 1400, which shows a Locofoco gain of near 100, in that District.

5th DISTRICT—Franklin, Lincoln, Bedford, Marshall. Loco majority 3025. The candidates Loco of course, were M. A. Long, and G. W. Jones. Jones succeeded over his Locofoco competitor. Gov. Jones is beaten 2865 votes in that District which shows a whig gain of 160 votes.

6th DISTRICT—Hickman, Maury, Giles, Lawrence, Wayne and Hardin. Loco majority 1400. Candidates—Neil S. Brown, Whig; Aaron V. Brown, Loco. Aaron succeeded by a majority of about 600, while Jones was beaten but 697, showing a Whig gain in the District, of 703 votes!

7th DISTRICT—Wilson, Rutherford, Cannon, Williamson. Whig majority, 2349. Candidates—David W. Dickson, Whig; no opposition. This majority was calculated from the vote between Jones and Polk in 1841, and as Jones has beaten Polk 2328 in the same District, this bout, and the Locofoco ticket lost upwards of a hundred, there is still a Whig gain in the district of something like 80 votes.

8th DISTRICT—Smith, Sumner and Davidson. Whig majority 1302. Candidates—Dr. Joseph H. Peyton, Whig; Gen. Daniel S. Donelson,

Loco. The Whig candidate in this District succeeded by upwards of 1000 votes, while Jones' majority over Polk is 1020, a falling off—not from the Whig vote, but from the Whig *majority*, occasioned by an *increased* Loco-foco vote.

9th DISTRICT—Robertson, Montgomery, Stewart, Dickson, Humphreys, Benton and Henry.—Locofoco majority, 870. Candidates—Gustavus A. Henry, Whig; Cave Johnson, Loco. The Loco-foco candidate succeeded by about 300 votes, while Gov. Jones was beaten only 385 votes, showing a Whig gain of 485 in the District.

10th DISTRICT—McNairy, Hardeman, Fayette, Shelby, Tipton, Haywood, Lauderdale and Dyer.—Whig majority, 385. Candidates—John B. Ashe, Whig; Frederic P. Stanton, Loco. The Whig candidate, Ashe, succeeded, getting the Whig majority, while Jones' majority over Polk is 338, being a loss to the Whig majority of 47 votes.

11th DISTRICT—Perry, Henderson, Madison, Carroll, Gibson, Weakley, Obion.—Whig majority, 2,608. Candidates—Milton Brown, Whig; Mr. Pavatt, Loco-foco. Judge Brown is of course elected, and the majority of Jones over Polk is 2520, being a falling off of the Whig majority of 88 only.

RECAPITULATION.

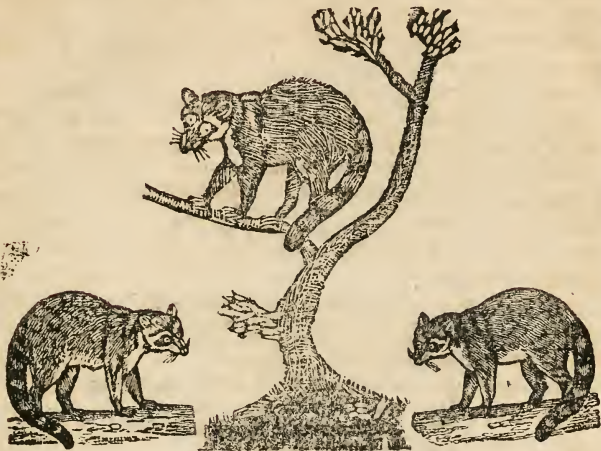
Whig majority in 6 Congressional Districts,	9,830
Locofoco majority in 5 Districts,	5,722

Balance in favor of the Whigs,	4,108
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Thus it will be seen that if the Whig majorities were distributed as they should be, the Locofocos would have but *one* member in Congress, while the Whigs would have **TEN**!

THE LEGISLATURE,—Two years ago, the Whigs had a majority of *three* in the House, and the Locofocos had a majority of *one* in the Senate. Now, the Whigs have a majority of *five* in the House and *three* in the Senate, which gives them *eight* on joint ballot—a sufficient majority for all reasonable purposes. And next to the success of the Whigs in carrying the new Legislature, the *characters* of the members elect, for talents and respectability, should afford our friends the highest gratification. With here and there an exception, the Whigs had their very best men in the field, as also had the Locofocos, which accounts for much of the energy with which both parties prosecuted the late canvass. In the whig column of members elect, we find the names of as many as *five* Ex-Congressmen. Besides these we find the names of many men known to us, either personally or from character, as gentlemen and politicians of the first moral and political worth in the State.

" THAT SAME OLD COON !!! "



For two long years past, greatly to our annoyance, the Locofoco papers have abounded with coarse wood cuts, caricaturing "that same old coon." Some have had him in the act of being *skinned*, with a huge Locofoco over him, and a butcher knife in hand. Others have had him on his back, on a rough table, feeling upwards for the ground, with one unfeeling Locofoco to *hold*, while another would *skin*! And others, more cruel, have represented him as on the ground, squalling like a wild cat, and literally covered with dogs!

We confess, as painful as it is, that our coon has been for two years past, "*settin on a rail*," and to all human appearance, "*sleepin very sound*;" but he is on his feet again, and at the top of the tree, ready to give the two "weary travellers" from North Carolina, who come with "glad tidings" from the old North State, the right hand of fellowship. He has been roused up in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Georgia, and will henceforth, he assures us, "keep wide awake and duly sober," save only, when he may chance to fall in with a barrel of "hard cider." Verily this mention of "cider," reminds us of the "departed joys" of 1840, when we first met with the coon, who "came to the beach a poor exile of Erin," and with whom,

"Wi' *mony* a vow, and lock'd embrace,
Our parting was 'fu tender;
And pledging *afst* to meet again,
We tore ourselves asunder."

With the coon, Music has maintained universal dominion, and like the sweet Bard of Avon, he has said, he is "mov'd with concord of sweet sounds." Let, then, his Whig friends cheer him occasionally, with the spiritstirring air of a North Carolina Whig, *in reply to a "very mournful elegy" on the same old coon :*

"The Coon is dead!" Ah, say not so,
He only sleeps awhile;
With ten-fold strength he'll soon come forth
With the same old winning "smile."
"The coon is dead!" How mistaken!
For you there's no such luck:
You wish him dead, I doubt it not—
But he lives in "old Kentuck!"

The hickory pole that once stood high:
Emblem of your Hero's fame—
Has long since fallen to the dust,
And mingled with the same.
But the same old Coon is stout and strong:
He's stood the withering blast;
He'll still endure the heavy storm—
And come again at last!

The hickory pole! Who set it up?
The "Democrats!"—'tis said;
That lengthy pole has tumbled down:
The cry is, then "The Coon is dead!"
"The Coon is dead!" He lives, dear sir,
To fight another battle—
O'er hill and dale, in '44,
You'll hear his music rattle!

He'll start with strength from "old Kentuck!"
And gathering as he goes,
He'll drive the motley crew again,
And triumph o'er his foes!
He'll meet you in the Empire State,
And lead you such a route:
He's up again equip'd for fight,
And lives, you will not doubt!

"The Coon is dead!" It is not so!!
For you there's no such luck!—
He only sleeps in Ashland shades—
In the State of "old Kentuck!"
Long live the coon, "the same old Coon!"
His triumphs are not yet o'er;—
But the hickory pole, "the same old pole"—
We ne'er shall see it more!

"LAY ON NANCY!"



The Coon in Tennessee, has covered himself with glory, and a portion of that imperishable renown, he is about to impart to the *Dominecker* of Locofocoism! The pompous Rooster of the Chapman stripe, has been crowing away in Tennessee, for the last two years, loud enough, in all conscience, to wake up every *hen* south of Mason and Dixon's Line; while the Coons, disgusted with the treachery of Tyler, retired to their native forests, and indulged in those nocturnal habits, peculiar to their nature, previous to their being civilized by the Whigs. But this crowing of these American *Domineckers*, has aroused the Coons, from the borders of Nootka Sound, to the forests of Mexico; and that opinion of their characters, formed solely from external appearances, the mingled expression of sagacity and innocence exhibited in their aspect, their personal neatness and gentle movements, inclining the *feathered* tribes to view them as possessed of a guileless and placable disposition, has been found to be erroneous. The Coon, when insulted and injured, displays a blood-thirsty and vindictive spirit, and as this cut will show, he slaughters the Locofoco tenants of the poultry-yard with indiscriminate ferocity! And thus it is, he nobly breasts the rising surge of Locofocoism and drives it back—spreading despair among the ranks of the enemy, and striking down into the dust, their *feathered organ*, at the very moment he was tip toeing and crowing in the face of the party headed by the Coon, with confident defiance!

Ever honored be the Tennessee Coon ! and highest praises to the noble victory he has achieved in that vast extent of territory, of which the *Hermitage* is the centre !!

A TRIUMPHANT VICTORY!—Most nobly have the Whigs of Tennessee discharged their duty to themselves, to their State, and to their country ! After a long and hard fought battle, contending against the monied power of the State, in the outrageous conduct of the Banks, and against the patronage of the General Government, including the Post Office Department, the Whigs have GAINED A SIGNAL AND TRIUMPHANT VICTORY !

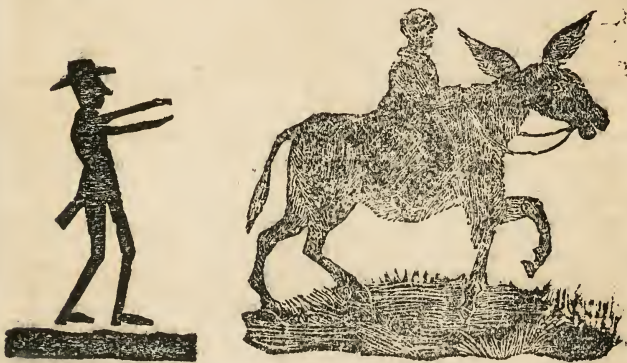
Such is the emphatic and decisive rebuke which the independent freemen of this State have given to the factious conduct of the "*immortal thirteen*," denominated by a distinguished Whig orator, in Carter County, on the 28th of June last "**THE IMMORTAL—THE ETERNAL—THE INFERNAL THIRTEEN!**" Such is the emphatic rebuke which the people of Tennessee have given to the conduct of the Locofoco party, in holding on to the Banks against law, and refusing to suffer an investigation into their affairs ; such the indignant condemnation they have pronounced upon the miserable doctrines and measures of Locofocoism, the enemies of HENRY CLAY, and of a NATIONAL BANK and a PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

We are aware that the Locofocos themselves, now labor to impress the public mind with a belief, that the refusal of the "*immortal thirteen*" to elect Senators to Congress, alone caused their defeat. This will not begin to do. There has been a great change going on in the public mind, within a few years past, on the subject of a *United States Bank*. Men and neighborhoods, in almost every county in this State, who but a few years ago, were loud and bitter in their denunciations of such an institution, have become silent, and others have come out openly and warmly in its favor. There is a knock down argument in its favor, which the leaders of Locofocoism know it is difficult to refute and to their sorrow they know that the most humble and unpretending men of the country are becoming acquainted with that argument, and have more than once knocked them down with it. The common people recollect that during the whole period of the existence of a NATIONAL BANK, the country prospered, and every kind of business flourished, and that since GEN. JACKSON, destroyed that institution, it has been the reverse. Every thing like currency, trade and commerce, has become deranged, and times daily get worse. This argument the people can't forget, nor yet fail to feel the force of, in every section of the Union.

We have had an opportunity of knowing something of popular

sentiment on this subject, having travelled through at least portions of half the States in the Union, since the war upon the late Bank was begun and ended. We have, moreover, seen gentlemen vote the Loco-foco ticket this summer, because urged to it once more by party leaders, and from a reluctance to break old party ties, avowing at the same time their conviction of the necessity of a NATIONAL BANK. In 1844, a Bank, we predict, will be more popular than any man or any party—and that the man, or the party, by whom it may be opposed, will be as certainly and effectually crushed, as the opposers of the Bank were in 1816. Mark our prediction!

EX-GOV. POLK "ON HIS WINDING WAY !!!"



AN INTERESTING DIALOGUE.

Col. Polk—Gov. Jones, do you know the difference between *tweedle-dee* and *tweedle-dum*?

Gov. Jones—Yes, Colonel, I think the difference is about *four thousand votes*, but of this we can only be certain when we get the returns!

Col. Polk—I wish, Governor, to discuss these subjects gravely, before my fellow-citizens of Bean's Station and vicinity, and not to resort to the low slang and undignified exclamation, connected with a Bear fight, of "Lay on Nancy!"—"Lay on Nancy!!"—"Lay on Nancy!!!"

Gov. Jones—I think, Colonel, that there is as much of the *grave*, and more of the *dignity* about the exclamation "Lay on Nancy!" than there is in the discussion of the subjects of *tweedle-dee* and *twee-*

dle-dum, especially when such discussion is accompanied with your horrible ugly grinning!

Col. Polk—Governor, if strangers from other States were to pass here, while you are exclaiming “Lay on Nancy!” they would say you are not a Governor, or seeking to be made one; but that you ought to be put in the ring of a Circus, with a straight jacket, painted, and turned loose as a *clown*!

Gov. Jones—I am willing to be painted—to put on a straight jacket take the whip in my hand, and enter the ring of the Circus, in the presence of the strangers from other States, as the *Tennessee clown*—But this I agree to on the condition that the same strangers shall return just as my competitor is making such a horrible face, and bawling out “lay on Nancy!” Where would my competitor be placed by these impartial strangers? They would say he must go into the ring of the Circus likewise, but not in the character of the clown with me, he must be *the little fellow on the bob tailed pony*!

Col. Polk—Governor, I intend nothing disrespectful, but I am willing to let the crowd say who looks the most like a *clown*, myself or my competitor!

Gov. Jones—Roll on Colonel, for the way I am moving you, leaves no room to doubt but that you are the clown!

TEN HUNDRED THOUSAND CHEERS FOR THE NOBLE WHIG STATE OF TENNESSEE. —Attention the world, till the news of the Tennessee elections is given! O ye inhabitants of this wide earth, stretch wide your eyes and look at Tennessee, while she stops the onward march of that Locofoco ball! Heads erect!—Right foot seven feet in rear of the left, to act as a brace!—Hands raised as high as they can reach, with fingers spread wide apart!—Mouths spread wide open to catch the accents!—Faces turned towards Old Kentuck, with backs upon South Carolina!—Eyes “a feet” apart, squinting towards Louisiana and Maine!—Keeping time with the feet, after the fashion of the “Rogue’s March,” while the leaders of Misrule in Tennessee, work their way up Salt River!!

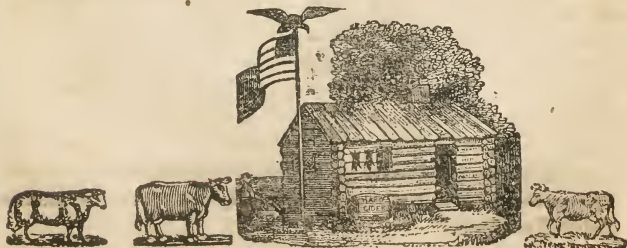
Michilimacinack, but the Whigs have packed it on to the Locofocos in Tennessee! In the name of Nebucadnezzar, but they die hard!—Chickamiconico, but we have the Locos now! Conajoharie, how they hate their defeat! Cock-a-doodle-do! what long faces they have!—“Big A, little a, r-o n, Aron,” thou *neplus ultra* of human learning, only see how Tennessee has turned the ball of Locofocoism back again. In the name of Buzzard’s Bay, Cape Cod, and Turk’s Island, ought

not the motto on this ball to be changed! Pamlico Sound, thou *land* of the Kilkenny Cats, will you not rise up in judgment against the Whigs, for their causing this whole-sale defeat of modern Democracy, in the land of Jacksonism, Polk stalks, and old "*Sack Miller*" of McMinn!

Yes, Tennessee is regenerated!—The triumph of the Whigs is complete! The enemy are routed, "horse foot and dragoons!" Tennessee, proud chivalrous Tennessec, which has been a sort of forlorn hope of the cause of correct principles, and of constitutional liberty, while other States, one after another, were bowing down before the footstool of plunder and Locofoco misrule, mistaking *demagogues* for *Statesmen*, she, we say, has stood the more firm; and in proportion as the good cause has grown weaker elsewhere, just in equal proportion has it flourished in Tennessee, where the first beacon light of *Reform*, by the nomination of JUDGE WHITE was kindled, seven long years ago!—And since she indignantly threw aside the galling yoke of *Jacksonism*, in 1836, who of her sons has not been proud to claim her as the land of his nativity?

Better than all, the result of the late hard fought battle in this State, shows beyond a doubt, that HENRY CLAY is the favorite of Tennessee for the next Presidency. His claims to that high office, were advocated by Gov. JONES, with distinguished ability and success, as well also as by the various Whig candidates for Congress and the Legislature. The Locofocos, from Polk down to Crouch of Washington county, cried "bargain, intrigue and corruption," and asked the people if they would support *Clay*, the known enemy of their old chief?—On the other hand, the Whig orators and newspapers, responded, aye, we go for HENRY CLAY in preference to any man living. The public will distinctly recollect the bold and manly avowal of the gallant Jones, who declared in all his speeches,—"*I AM FOR HENRY CLAY FIRST—I AM FOR HIM LAST—I AM FOR HIM ALL THE TIME!*"

THE STOCK-RAISER'S RESIDENCE AT "ASHLAND."



VOTE FOR GOVERNOR.

EAST TENNESSEE.

	1843.		1841.	
	Whig. L.F.		Whig. L. F.	
	Jones.	Polk.	Jones.	Polk.
Anderson,	594	288	540	265
Bledsoe,	528	236	590	227
Bradley,	483	872	480	846
Blount,	1054	730	1065	669
Claiborne,	598	813	462	756
Cocke,	820	160	821	100
Campbell,	333	379	343	362
Carter,	679	141	729	138
Grainger,	1018	572	1003	524
Greene,	978	1524	894	1574
Hawkins,	1130	1296	1053	1343
Hamilton,	628	623	548	560
Jefferson,	1607	257	1605	176
Johnson,	379	95	372	70
Knox,	1911	454	1842	385
Mcigs,	124	576	84	574
McMinn,	879	1025	955	884
Monroe,		163 majority.	847	985
Morgan,	161	138	158	125
Marion,	478	368	431	320
Polk,		188 majority	194	345
Roane,	888	671	883	649
Rhea,	213	359	164	379
Sevier,	860	61	869	88
Sullivan,	353	1251	313	1336
Washington,	851	1088	789	1123
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	17587	14328	18034	14803
	14328		14803	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3259		3231	

✂ This result is not so bad for East Tennessee, the region from whence Col. Polk sent such cheering intelligence back to his friends in Middle Tennessee !

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR.

MIDDLE TENNESSEE.

	1843.		1841.	
	Whig.	L.F.	Whig.	L.F.
	Jones.	Polk.	Jones.	Polk.
Bedford,	1511	1480	1853	2344
Coffee,	340	933	new county.	
Cannon,	354	690	new county.	
Dickson,	247	583	319	657
DeKalb,	518	463	new county.	
Davidson,	2064	1481	1768	1236
Fentress,	112	407	144	359
Franklin,	417	1039	603	1361
Giles,	1307	1226	1110	1276
Hickman,	277	913	247	939
Hardin,	582	665	510	596
Humphreys,		171 majority.	433	693
Jackson,	1020	530	1109	628
Lincoln,	690	2314	728	2504
Lawrence,	482	477	522	505
Marshall,	687	1337	new county.	
Maury,	1421	1800	1367	2187
Montgomery,	1242	911	925	781
Overton,	291	1048	262	959
Rutherford,	1586	1367	1711	1534
Robertson,	1199	764	960	680
Sumner,	816	1782	702	1621
Smith,	2101	713	2369	690
Stewart,	445	595	378	614
Van Buren,	149	179	new county.	
White,	932	456	1158	511
Warren,	338	1162	476	2027
Wilson,	2432	1070	2246	971
Wayne,	648	333	666	319
Williamson,	1939	856	1806	809
	26147	27745	24371	26891
		26147		24371
	1598			2520

§ This result is not so bad either for Middle Tennessee—Polk's majority there two years ago, the reader will perceive, was 2520, while now, it is but 1595, a falling off from the Locofoco ticket in two years, of 925 votes!

VOTE FOR GOVERNOR.

WEST TENNESSEE.

	1843.		1841.	
	Whig.	L.F.	Whig.	L.F.
	Jones.	Polk.	Jones.	Polk.
Benton,		110 majority.	258	231
Carroll,	1274	459	1195	425
Dyer,	360	238	326	212
Fayette,	1072	1060	1003	864
Gibson,	1159	516	1017	432
Henry,	783	1167	721	1108
Henderson,	1093	402	1100	328
Haywood,	694	640	655	554
Hardeman,	583	861	624	853
Lauderdale,	75 majority.		new county.	
Madison,	1185	656	1046	554
McNairy,	782	643	741	509
Obion,		130 majority.	274	387
Perry,	726	450	707	388
Shelby,	1300	975	829	736
Tipton,	356	467	519	584
Weakley,	592	906	509	726
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	12034	9680	11524	8991
	9680		8991	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	2354		2533	

RECAPITULATION.

Jones' majority in East Tennessee,	3,259
Polk's majority in Middle Tennessee,	1,598
Jones' majority in West Tennessee,	2,354
Jones' total majority,	4,015.



☛ Since the foregoing estimate of the vote of Tennessee for Governor went to press, the Columbia Observer has come to hand, in which the entire vote is given, and Jones' majority is set down at 4185, which is probably correct.

CAUSE OF POLK'S DEFEAT—TENNESSEE LOCOFOS GOING FOR CASS.—The causes of the defeat of Polk, and of the Locofoco candidates for the Legislature, are fruitful themes among the *talking* members of that miserable party. The more reckless among them, charge the Whigs with frauds at the ballot-box, and with all manner of illegal voting, while Polk himself says, that having to carry *Van Buren* broke him down. Hence he is understood now to be for General Cass, and has instructed his leading organs to take that shoot. He sees that his chances for being run on the ticket with Mr. Van Buren, since he could not carry his own State, are all blasted, and hence he has gone to work in favor of General Cass, in the hope that he will be run for the Vice Presidency on that ticket!

The *MISSISSIPPIAN*, a leading Van Buren organ, of a recent date, thus attributes the defeat of Polk *to himself* :

[From the *Mississippian*.]

"As to the causes which produced this defeat in Tennessee, they are obvious enough. *In the first place*, MR. POLK HAS NOT HIMSELF KEPT UP WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, NOR WITH THE SPREAD OF ITS PRINCIPLES. While the Republican party itself, and the tendencies of the times are for the return of a hard money currency and the utter prostration of the late corrupt and rotten paper system, he loiters on the way and finally becomes the apologist of the State bank system, and their defender in his own State. Had he identified himself more thoroughly with his own political friends—embraced the creed of the Benton school; and boldly lead the way in arousing the popular hatred to the shaving shops of the country, we cannot but think that he would have succeeded much better, and perhaps changed the result."

Here is the mystery of Polk's defeat revealed at last! The *why* and *wherefore* of Gov. Jones' re-election is out. Polk "loitered on the way"—he advocated "a corrupt and rotten State Bank system"—he did not "embrace the creed of the Benton School," and go the whole hog for the *hard money currency*! Not only so, but he did not *keep pace with the news*, and worse than all, as charged by Gov. Jones on the stump, he would not "identify himself with his own political friends"—so at least says the *MISSISSIPPIAN*, whose fidelity to "THE PARTY" will not be questioned, if indeed its authoritativeness is.

Well, it is a matter of but little importance to the Whigs who the Locofoco candidate for the Presidency may be; but their own bickerings jealousies, divisions, and heart-burnings, warrant the belief that they will meet in Convention—agree to disagree—and finally run three or four candidates with a view to bringing the election before the House of Representatives. All we ask of them is, that they will bring out their best man, as we want a man worth beating. If they will do this, with HENRY CLAY on our ticket, we will give them *Jessee*!

Polk "weighed in the balances and found wanting."



THE DEGENERACY OF THE PRESS.—Every now and then, as the saying is, the *Locofoco* papers of this State set up a dreadful howl about the *degeneracy* of the Press! We herewith submit a few instances of their regard for truth, and of their segacity as politicians.—Out of their own mouths we condemn them. By their own confessions, we prove, that they act upon the iniquitous principle, that,—

"The world is generally averse
 "To all the truth it sees and hears;
 "But swallows *nonsense and a lie*,
 "With greediness and gluttony!"

Ex-Governor Polk will give Gov. Jones a Coon-skinning before the canvass is ended.—*Central Gazette of April.*

Gov. Polk is a regular Coon-skinner, and will make sassage meet of Jones in less than no time.—*Columbia (Tenn.) Democrat of May 11th.*

Polk's majority will be 4000—which we think will be about as near the result, as can be ascertained at this early stage of the canvass.—*Gallatin Union of 12th of May.*

When we come to rejoice over the victory in August next, we would rather not be compelled to rejoice over those in our own ranks who are pressing themselves forward in one or two counties against the wish of the majority. We want them to share in the triumph, which they cannot do if they persist in their efforts to impede the victorious progress of Democracy. We hope they will be wise in time.—*Nashville Union of May.*

The news of Polk's success comes to us from every quarter, and especially from the West where the candidates have been holding forth.—*Murfreesborough Jeffersonian of May 13th.*

He soon will be Ex-Governor Jones.—*Athens Courier of June 2nd.*

Gov. Polk is now coming up through East Tennessee, and is sweeping every thing before him.—*Sentinel of June 10th.*

Hon. T. D. Arnold, R. J. McKinney, J. A. McKinney, T. A. R. Nelson, either or all of them are superior to Mr. Jones in point of learning and ability. And strip him of the Gubernatorial robe, and among great men it is generally acknowledged that he is "small potatoes." There are a thousand men in his own party in Tennessee more talented and learned.—*Sentinel of July 1st.*

Now, whatever *private* opinion we may entertain relative to the abilities of Gov. Jones—(a man for whom we are known to be partial) we will waive that opinion for the present, and agree with the Sentinel, in the opinion that he is no man at all. But where does this conclusion place Ex-Gov. Polk? To have been *beaten* by a man thus inferior to "a thousand men in his own party in Tennessee"—a man "generally acknowledged to be small potatoes," is bad enough, we know, but to have been distanced 4185 votes by *such an one*, after a hard fought battle, is both humiliating and disgraceful! The people of Tennessee certainly have no sort of respect for Polk! Why, if the Whig party had brought out one of "a thousand men" we might name, among whom are, "Hon. Thomas D. Arnold, Robert J. McKinney, John A. McKinney, or Thomas A. R. Nelson," Polk, according to the Sentinel, would have been distanced some *twenty thousand votes*!

The prospect for Polk in East Tennessee is far better than it ever has been before. He will gain heavily in all the strong whig counties, and more than sustain his old vote of '39.—*Columbia Democrat of June 29th.*

The Editor and Publisher of the Sentinel, only a few days before the late election, remarked to a Whig, who is the Father of the former, and the Father-in-law of the latter, *that they had no hope of Polk's election, and never had, but that it was necessary to keep up appearances, in order to influence the county elections!* This charge we published

in the Whig at the time, and it never has been contradicted : if it had, we should have sustained it fully. True, the Sentinel said it would be attended to *after* the election, but for reasons doubtless satisfactory to the "Joint Stock Company" of that concern, it has never been replied to yet.

Now, where an Editor an Publisher will acknowledge that they lie, and that they do it for *effect*, is any community bound to believe them, even when they speak the truth? The Scriptures say a liar is not to be believed, even though he speak the truth. But what better could be expected of a man who acknowledges that he writes things he ought not to do, because "*his friends and party here would give him no peace till he engaged in it?*" Of this confession, humiliating as it is, the Editor of the Sentinel was convicted before a full Quarterly Conference of the church in this county.

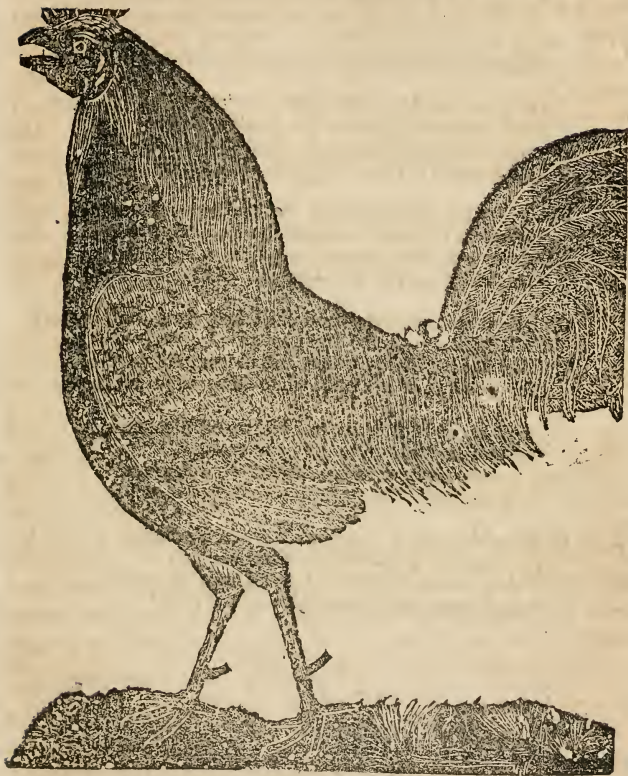
With more truth than ever, we may say, in the language of the Poet:—

" Ah! who like me can bless or curse?
 What can be better, what be worse,
 Than language framed for Paradise
 Or sold to infamy or vice?
 Blest be the man by whom I bless;
 Accursed he who wrongs the Press;
 The *reprobate* in prose or song,
 Who wields the power of right for *wrong*."

But it is perhaps, unfair to associate the *Sentinel* of this town with other Locofoco papers, as infamous as they generally are. It is the most reckless sheet in the State; and those who are acquainted with its history, will agree with us, that it has, from first to last, been edited by more *broke down Preachers*, and lewd, lying, irresponsible men, than any other single sheet in existence! And yet, in point of depravity, a want of honor, and a total disregard for truth, its present Editor is a head and shoulders taller than any *ruffian* who has yet controuled its filthy columns. His miserable countenance—the longitudinal aspect of his face, and the shooting out of that upper lip of his, with a diabolical grin, all and singular, evince that he has passed the Rubicon of honorable warfare. But to the lovers of order and truth, it is gratifying to know that *Public Opinion* has branded him in the forehead, with the deep and indelible mark of *Cain*, that he may be despised and shunned of all men, until Death arraigns him at the bar of impartial justice, to receive the retribution his crimes have merited!

A LOCOFOCO ROOSTER.

Here is a Cock from the poultry yard of *Waterloo*,
Hark ! how he crows !! Cock-a-doodle-doo !!!



LOCO SONG.

—
Tune—"EXILE OF ERIN."
—

There are in our town many Locos despairing,
Oh ! pale are their cheeks and their spirits are low ;
At the "rascally Whigs" they are awfully swearing,
And calling on Chapman, poor Chapman to crow !

Before the election they seemed very clever,
And told us their voters were all lying low ;

Now, they *pretend* to be as cheerful as ever,

And call upon Chapman, poor Chapman to crow !

3

They say that poor Polk, "no knocking can wake him,"

The Whigs of Tennessee have beaten him so ;

And they beg that the friends of the party may take him,

Where Chapman, poor Chapman can teach him to crow !

No more on the stump his eloquence ringing,

Shall cause every man to the speaking to go ;

No more will they laugh at his exquisit *grinning*,

The Colonel at home with poor Chapman must crow

For Polk, the *Vice* candidate, the tear drops are starting,

And down the lank cheeks of the Locos do flow ;

For the hopes of Van Buren are quickly departing,

And faintly—oh! faintly does poor Chapman crow !

Oh! short are my *spurs*—and oh! where shall I wander!

To lengthen my *comb* and my *tail*—I quickly will go,

To Eastman's Printing Office, and mournfully ponder,

O'er the news of my ruin, while Chapman shall crow!

We'll sit in the back room, and add up each column,

And make out a gain to the party to show,

And though our faces look confoundedly solemn,

We'll call upon Chapman to give a good crow !

We'll head it "O. K.," and we'll say in November,

The State of Tennessee for *Cass* will go ;

We'll *brag* while we can, and we all must remember,

To call upon Chapman to give a *loud crow* !

CHAPTER XVII.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JAMES C. JONES.

Preliminary remarks—Birth and Parentage—His early days—Leaves school and becomes a Farmer—Elected to the Legislature—His services in the General Assembly—Chosen an Elector for President and Vice President—Elected Governor over Polk—Again elected Governor over Polk by an increased majority—Risks his life in the canvass—Topics of discussion—The 26th of June in Jonesborough—His powers upon the stump—Description of his person—Concluding remarks.

THE high degree of elevation which the present Governor of Tennessee has reached, and the desire which we know many of our readers have, to see a brief statement of his birth and parentage, alone constitute our apology to the public for presenting this—not only brief, but *imperfect* sketch of his life and public services. A debt of gratitude is due to this able, indefatigable, and triumphant leader of the Whig party in Tennessee, which no eulogy can repay. But while we fall far short of repaying this debt of gratitude, in this feeble attempt at a memoir, we have the consolation to know that it will not be withheld, either by the whole-souled Whigs of Tennessee, or their brethren in other States. Already have the Whigs of North Alabama taken steps to give the eloquent, magnanimous, patriotic young Governor of Tennessee, a public entertainment in Huntsville. And in the Lexington Reporter, we see that something of the kind is contemplated in Kentucky. Our friends in that State may well afford a thing of this kind; for this gallant leader of the Whig party here, avowed every where, in all his public speeches, that HENRY CLAY was his choice for the Presidency—that he was “for Clay *first*, for Clay *last*, and for Clay *all the time*.” And with this battle-cry he triumphed gloriously: And finally, should our friends in Kentucky be favored with a visit from our young Governor, they will find him to be a leader as bold and fearless as Mr. Clay himself—an orator, who will measure arms before the people

with their Crittendens, Marshalls, Moreheads and their Combs'! They could not refrain from the exclamation, were they to hear him for themselves,—an hundred cheers for the gallant State of Tennessee, and her noble Son, who, but five years ago was following the plough, and has now vindicated his claims to a place among the first of popular orators in the United States! The Boston Atlas, after speaking in the highest terms of the Governor's bold and manly avowal of his preference for Mr. Clay, concludes its article thus,—“He has carried his State gallantly through the contest—and the appropriate wreaths of victory should adorn his brow. We wish his brother Whigs of the other States would devise some suitable gift, to be presented to him as an enduring testimony of their esteem for his character, and their gratitude for the high service he has rendered his country.” Among the numerous demonstrations of applause and high regard, which the gallant leader of the Tennessee Whigs has been honored with, by his Whig brethren in different parts of the Union, none is more complimentary than the adoption of the following resolution, at a numerous meeting of the Whigs of the city and county of Philadelphia, on the 26th day of August:—

“*Resolved*, That the Whigs of Philadelphia city and county marked with deep anxiety the progress of the canvass for the late election in Tennessee, and do now heartily rejoice at its most auspicious termination; and while they tender to their brother Whigs of that glorious State their felicitation at the result, which is a triumph of national principles, they in a special manner offer their thanks to his Excellency Governor JONES for the distinguished and leading part which he took in the canvass, and which undoubtedly was a principal ingredient in the elements of success.

JAMES C. JONES is a native of Wilson county, Tennessee. He was born on the 7th day of June, 1809, near the Davidson line, almost in sight of the HERMITAGE, and about fourteen miles above Nashville, which makes him 34 years of age last June! His parents removed from Virginia to Middle Tennessee at an early day. His father, a plain old fashioned Virginia gentleman, of very moderate fortune, died when the Governor was yet an infant, leaving him to the care of an affectionate mother it is true, but at the same time to contend with the hardships of orphanage. The surviving parent was not surrounded with such a string of wealthy and influential relatives, as to enable her to raise her son at once to those high degrees of elevation beyond those who were born in the same circumstances and line of life. Nor is the Governor now indebted for the proud stand he occupies in the political world, so much to any thing *extraordinary* in itself, as to a well-timed and sedulous use of his own powers, and such other advantages as the circum-

stances of his life afforded. He was educated with a view of making him a Lawyer, but at the age of 16, he became delicate in health—left school on that account—became attached to the farm, and determined to devote himself to the pursuits thereof. His circumstances were not actually indigent, but they were nevertheless such as to subject him constantly to hard manual labor. He was naturally industrious, and ploughed many a long summer's day, in the cornfield, in the rich lands in the vicinity of Cumberland River, in his shirt sleeves, and without shoes. This exercise completely restored his health, and while yet very young, he became united in marriage, to an amiable lady, the daughter of an honest farmer; and from that day to this, unlike his competitor, the renowned champion of Locofocoism in Tennessee, he has been every year blessed with—"either a *gal* or a *boy*!"

From the age of 16, to that of 30, he continued on the farm without any participation in political affairs whatever, until the Spring of 1839, when he was prevailed on by his friends to canvass for a seat in the popular branch of the Legislature, before the numerous, patriotic, and intelligent citizens of Wilson,—a county which was entitled to two Representatives and one Senator, and polled as many as 3420 votes!—His debut upon the stump was a successful one, and he was triumphantly elected over some of the strongest men in the county. This was the memorable campaign in which COL. POLK triumphed over GOVERNOR CANNON, and our readers will recollect that the elections all turned that year upon *National Politics*, and the Presidential question. And although the *Clay question* was first made in this campaign, he was the only Whig candidate for the Legislature, in the Middle Division of the State, who took ground openly and boldly for Henry Clay. By his eloquence, and the ability he displayed upon the stump, our young Governor gained much distinction in that campaign, as a public debator, and an efficient partizan orator. He served in the Session of 1839-'40, of our General Assembly, and even his political opponents will bear us witness, that as a Legislator, his success was as marked as his talents were obvious. Then it was, too, that he first became offensive to the self-styled Democracy of Tennessee. His first offence was, the introduction of a bill to *burn* the unsold Bonds of the State, which the newly elected Governor had proposed in his Message to make *Sterling Bonds*, and send them to British capitalists to be sold like sheep in the market! This bill was introduced and supported, at the risk of losing that breeze of popular favor, which was bearing on his bark bravely toward the haven of worldly prosperity and renown. He made his influence felt in the General Assembly; and several of his speeches during that session, are said to have been inimitable specimens of argu-

ment and humor. And the Journals of the House will show with what activity and efficiency he entered upon the discharge of his duties as a member. He intended that his political career should close with that session; but the convention met at Nashville, in the Spring of 1840, for the purpose of nominating Electors to be run on the Whig ticket for President and Vice President, and without his consent, and even contrary to his earnest solicitations, his name was placed upon the Harrison ticket. In this new position, he did not content himself with faithfully discharging the ordinary duties of an Elector, but he entered the arena of that severe contest—traversed the Middle and Western Divisions of the State, and took an active part in the most important discussions before the people, contending with the most talented of the opposing party. In that spirit of self sacrifice, which he has since displayed in two great public emergencies, without stopping to calculate the disadvantages to himself, in a pecuniary point of view, he boldly arrayed himself on the side of his country, and his country's best interests: and in behalf of that cause which he believed to be the cause of truth and justice, he exerted himself with all the energies of his nature. He was even in the field as an Elector, *less than one week*, from the day of his return home from the Legislature.

After the close of the contest for the Presidency, and before he had time to breathe, as it were, he was chosen by the *unanimous* voice of a State convention at Murfreesborough, in the Spring of 1841, to meet COL. POLK, the champion of Locofocoism in Tennessee, in a contest for the office of Governor. In this contest, though there was a great falling off from the Whig majority obtained in the election of GEN. HARRISON, yet our young Governor ran ahead of the Whig vote as indicated in the election of members to the Legislature. And to say the least of this memorable struggle, it was characterized by a zeal, energy, and ability, on his part, which alone could have secured success to the Whig ticket—in view of the discouraging circumstances of the death of the lamented HARRISON, and of the perfidy, treachery and knavery, of that prince of traitors, *John Tyler*. And that long and arduous campaign, was not less creditable to Jones in the end, that it proved to be serviceable to the great Whig party in Tennessee.

Early in the month of March last, at the earnest solicitations of the whole Whig party in this State, the subject of this sketch again set out to canvass the State for re-election, contending with the same experienced opponent, and who is by long odds the ablest and most popular man the Locofocos could have started in this State. And laboring under great physical debility, at the sacrifice of comfort, and at the peril of life itself,

the gallant and eloquent subject of these remarks, unable to travel on horseback, nevertheless met the appointments of his competitor, at *ninety four* different places, extending through a period of five long months, including the heat of summer, riding 30 and 40 miles per day, and addressing the People, often in the open air, for *two hours and fifty minutes*, which was the limit of the candidates by agreement! And in the face of universal defeat and gloom, undismayed by adversity, unappalled by treachery, the indomitable Jones bore aloft the ample folds of the Whig banner, shouldering Whig men and measures, and placing the question of his re-election before the People, upon the broad grounds of *National Politics*, triumphed by an increased majority. Thus it is, that JAMES K. POLK, the able and untiring leader of Locofocoism, in almost a dozen hard fought battles, has been for the second time unhorsed by the still more talented and accomplished leader of the Whig columns of Tennessee. In this contest, as also in that of '41, he ran ahead of the aggregate Whig vote, as indicated in the election of members of Congress, and of the General Assembly; and we have no hesitancy in saying, that to the great popularity, manly arguments, flowing eloquence, and burning zeal of this bold and triumphant leader, are the Whigs of Tennessee now indebted for a majority of eight on joint ballot in our General Assembly. Whilst his speeches operated like electricity among the Whigs, they worked among the Locofocos with Mesmeric magic! The rabid and boisterous shouts of the Locofocos, which literally rent the air, on occasions of Polk meeting Gov. Cannon, were hushed into religious silence when their leader came to face the young farmer of Wilson!

And just in this connexion, by way of digression, we must be permitted to allude, somewhat more in detail, to the *topics* of discussion in this last memorable campaign, as well as to the manner in which the discussions resulted, as far as they came under our observation. We heard the candidates at three different points, to wit, Rheatown, Jonesborough and Elizabethton; but we will confine our remarks to the character of the discussion in Jonesborough, which, in all material respects, was similar to what occurred elsewhere. The topics of discussion were, the Public Expenditures—a National Bank—the Tariff question—the Bankrupt Law—the Distribution scheme—and the old exploded charge against Henry Clay of "*Bargain, Intrigue and Corruption.*" On all of these questions, Gov. Jones with cruel pertinacity, continued to *polke* his competitor under the ribs, and to pound him over the head and eyes, until we really felt sorry for "Gen. Lodi," and were very much inclined to beg his tormentor, as he was himself, for Heaven's sake to spare him; that a few more such *sock-dolagers*, on one occasion, were

quite too much for humanity. But the subject of our memoir continued to *bore* the little defeated. He reminded the vast concourse, that he had declared for Clay, first, last, and even all the time, while his competitor utterly refused to say who he was for, further than to avow that he intended to run his *principles* for the Presidency! To this the Governor avowed that he was at as great a loss as he was before. He desired to know, as he presumed the assembly did, *which* of his principles he intended to run! Was it his *Internal Improvement by the General Government principle*, of 1824, or his *Anti-Internal Improvement* notions of 1839? Was it his *Anti-Sub-Treasury* principles of 1835, or his *Sub-Treasury* principles of 1843? Was it his *High Tariff* notions of 1832, when he voted to tax *Tea and Coffee*, or his *Free Trade* doctrines of 1843? *Which* of his principles did he intend to run? Certainly he would not run them all, unless he concluded to run all his candidates, to wit, Van Buren, Calhoun, Johnson, Cass, Stewart and Buchanan! When these questions were propounded, such Hyena-like grins, as Lodi gave us, were never seen out of a *menagerie*! To have thrown his features into such unearthly contortions, all will agree required a tremendous effort!

The crowd in attendance here, was variously estimated—at, say from three to four thousand persons. The speakers themselves, declared the assembly to be the largest they had addressed during the cavass. But the never-to-be-forgotten 29th of June, 1843, came and went—the much talked of—the long to-be-remembered day on which the *lean* Governor of Ten, was to meet the *soul* of Locofocoism, and the great champion of Western Democracy—aye, meet the invincible Ex-Gov. Polk, face to face, before the sovereigns of the land, and contend with the battle-axe of truth—that day, we say, came and went, and is now numbered with the years beyond the flood! Truly the parties did meet, and they fought, and a giant-like battle it was.—Yes, the LIONS of the two great tribes of Tennessee met—they grappled in our very midst—they *roared* in the locust forest “hard by” the Presbyterian church, for near six long hours together—and the freemen of “Old Washington,” together with a portion of the citizens of the four or five surrounding counties, including some from North Carolina—respectfully sat in judgement on their efforts—and lo! *the day was ours*! We do not exaggerate or misrepresent facts, when we say that popular sentiment, so far as it has been elicited by the discussion, (and we have heard a great many express themselves) on that Monday is decidedly favorable to the cause of Gov. Jones—he is believed to have mastered the GOLIATH of modern Democracy in Tennessee! His friends desired a different result. They looked, they hoped, they

prayed for something better—they expected, and believed they were entitled to a speech, at least *worthy* of their boasted champion, but alas! the sceptre had departed from *democratic Israel*, and the followers of this once invincible leader, were doomed to witness his defeat. An air of triumph no longer sat upon the brow of “General Lodi”—and that heretofore commanding voice of his, was heard to sound the defence of Locofocoism but faintly—in him, as an ocean of fulness, buoyancy of spirit, no longer flowed and blended its vigorous current. But the cloud of cheerless gloom, which lowered over his head, obscured from his vision the sun of political prosperity; while dispirited and faint, when the speaking had ended, he crept into Chester’s tavern, and shared with his mourning friends, the cup of unmingled wretchedness. The fragrant grove seemed to scatter odours in vain around the Ex-Governor: and the sun high up in the hill of Heaven, and rolling his fiery chariot through a cloudless sky, shined but to reveal his wretchedness. His gray hairs, thinly scattered over his weather-beaten pate—his hollow eye, and pale way-worn cheeks, told the tale of his soul’s horror, while his fluttering heart, rent by despair, alone knew its own bitterness. By the horror of such a picture, reader, you are taught the wretchedness of a man, widowed of his glory, and rifled of his once flattering prospects. The *ultras* of his party, may not indeed have been fully sensible of his condition: the stupifying opiates of Locofocoism may have deadened their alarm. But as Cowper justly remarks,

—————“Surely ’tis a piteous sight to see
So many maniacs dancing in their chains,
With eyes of horror execrate their chains;
Then shake them in despair and dance again!”

Suffice it to say, that the Governor showed himself to be more than a match for the great “Magnus Apollo” of Tennessee Locofocoism.—His manly arguments, inimitable eloquence, and sound principles, contrasted delightfully with the studied, artful, demagogical appeals of an ambitious aspirant, in behalf of an exploded Sub-Treasury scheme, a hard money and State Bank fallacy, and old worn-out *Jackson* prejudices!

For the information of such of our readers, as have never seen Gov. Jones, we will give a brief description of his person. And this we attempt, perfectly aware of how difficult a thing it is, to draw a correct and discriminating portrait of a friend. Blind admiration and unqualified praise meet one on every side. But as the Governor is by no means the best looking man in the world, and as “pretty is as pretty does,” our sketch of his person shall at least possess the high merit of precise and faithful delineation. As already shown, he is, since June last, in

the 35th year of his age. He is, six feet two inches high, not stout, and in June last, weighed 125 pounds, being only 5 pounds lighter than his competitor. His limbs are long; he has a slow, precise walk, takes lengthy strides, and has a very careless appearance. His complexion is swarthy—has only a tolerable forehead in appearance—with a substantial *handle* on his face, and rather thin hair, of a dark hue, inclined to curl. His mouth and eyes—the former large enough in all conscience, and the latter small piercing and grey, give every indication of that superior genius which he is known to possess. The fire of his eye, over which lowers a dark heavy eye-brow cannot be described; but it can be felt with tremendous power, when he is delivering an animated speech, no one can resist its potency, as the Locofocos of Tennessee well know. He has a great deal of pleasantness in his manners, and possesses a most rare faculty of making every one to whom he is introduced, no matter how great the crowd, feel easy and free. There can be no restraint in his company, as indeed there is none. He makes himself agreeable to all, the rich and the poor, the great and the small. And as a *Lady's man*, he has few superiors.

The election of Gov. Jones, in August last, may be justly regarded as one of the greatest triumphs the Whig party has achieved in Tennessee. And we rejoice in the fulness of our hearts at the result of a contest which has been so bravely fought and nobly won. The consequence of this great and glorious result, as the leading journals of the Union show, is now felt in effecting a change of temperament in the Whigs of all North America. This signal and brilliant victory has shown them what can be done, if they will arise, throw off the shackles of their despondency, and be vigilant and resolute, and act with the spirit that animated our young and talented Governor, and other master spirits in the contest of 1840. And from this time forth, till the crowning of 1844, we confidently expect to see in every Whig State in the Union, decisive marks of that RE-AWAKENING which Tennessee, with the gallant—we had like to have said the *immortal* Jones at her head, has so nobly begun.

We repeat, a lasting debt of gratitude is due to this able and triumphant Whig leader. And the heartfelt gratulations of the Whigs in every other State, and the sore disappointment which the Locofocos exhibit, is a sure indication that it will not be withheld, either by the Whigs of his native State, or their political brethren in other States. And the measure of our ambition, as his devoted personal and political friend, would be full, if we could but see his name placed on the ticket with that of HENRY CLAY, for the Vice Presidency of the United States. And with the hope of living to yet behold a sight of this kind

we take a temporary leave of the subject of this hastily written biography—one we love as we do a near relative. Other glories, and still greater distinctions await Gov. JONES, but what they are time alone, can reveal. The *past* is secure—the *present* we know—and his dearly bought laurels, and richly deserved honors and fame, are incorporated with the history of his native State; while his name will live and flourish in the hearts of the Whigs of Tennessee, till those hearts cease to beat. May he be rewarded with the highest honor which a free People can bestow in this world, and with a home in Heaven, when he is done with the cares and vicissitudes of mortal life!

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF

JAMES K. POLK.

In the name of Democracy—Amen !

I, JAMES K. POLK, of the town of Columbia, and State of Tennessee, being of lawful age, as my gray hairs do show, being diseased in body, and perplexed in mind—insomuch that my “bodily presence” has become “weak,” and my ‘speech contemptible’ in the estimation of my countrymen, and expecting to die in November 1844. and then to be formally and forever buried, do make and ordain this, my last will and testament.

Item 1st. Having no “little ones” of my own, and never having had any *talent* in that “line of business,” my will is to leave my effects to my friends. My will is not to do much for my god-father, *A. Jackson*, although he has done much for me. For all this, however, I am under no serious obligations to him, because he acted more from *passion* than *principle*, and more from a *hatred* of John Bell, than *love* for me. Beside, all obligation ceases, when it is understood that my *cunning* overcame his *weakness*. He, too, is not long for this world, having exposed himself to the inclemency of the weather, in 1840, by going into the Western District to electioneer for our cause, and having afterwards had to take large portions of *hard cider*, to reduce him, the *remedy* is about to prove fatal. My will is that we “meet at the hatter’s shop,” and talk matters over !

Item 2d. My will is, that *Martin Van Buren* be given over to “hardness of heart and reprobacy of mind,” and that he be permitted to work out his ruin with greediness, because he has twice been a load on my shoulders, “too intolerable to be borne,” or got along with.

Item 3d. As to my old friend *General Cass*, I will and bequeath to him the nomination of the State Convention of Tennessee, in Nov. next, for the Presidency—not that I believe there is any possibility of his election, but as a rebuke to Messrs. Van Buren and Calhoun, for attempting to force themselves on “THE PARTY” whether or no !

Item 4th. As to my old friend Richard M. of Kentucky, I will him nothing, as he seems to have a will of his own, which, unfortunately for me, led him to an association with certain female "*voters of color*," which I never could justify before the people, and which has been a great draw back upon the good cause in the South and West. ¶

Item 5th. My new alli, *John Cataline*, of South Carolina, I provide a place in the Southern Circus, where he can continue to display his agility in turning *somersets*, to the "tune of turn about and wheel about."

Item 6th. My old "yoke fellow," the Great Expunger of Missouri, I will & bequeath as much *paper money* as he can carry off in his *cravat*. I have no fears of his ever suffering, as he has shown, from his youth up, great skill in *financiering*, and would always provide for himself, no matter at whose expense.

Item 7th. My slippery little friend, A. O. P. Nicholson, I leave sole heir to the track in this State, in a race for Governor, in 1845, to be run on the Democratic ticket,—to be the worst beat man that ever run in this or any other State, myself not excepted.

Item 8th. The leaders of the Democratic party in Tennessee, with but few exceptions, I leave to take care of themselves,—feeling no great concern for them, as they nevey supported me so much from any confidence they reposed in me, or regard for the principles I advocated, as from a slavish fear of "*THE PARTY*," and a desire to obtain office themselves.

Item 9th. The common people of Tennessee, I turn them over to my Executors herein after named, and desire that they may be permitted to do with them, and by them as they think best.

Item 10th. My *adopted* sons, my *dearest darlings*, the "*immortal thirteen*," I desire, most ardently, may enjoy, as a reward for their perjury, perfidy, abandonment of principles, and revolutionary conduct, in the late General Assembly of Tennessee, all the advantages and comfort, to be derived from the editorial *puffs*, of such venal and prostituted sheets as the Union, Argus, Sentinel, and *little Courier*!

Item 11th. My dutiful friends, in the different divisions of the State, "too tedious to mention," and to whom the *Snatorship* has been promised, I will the consolation of not being *troubled* with a trip to Washington. And the one at the "City of Mecklenburg," can just *imagine* himself a Senator in Congress, and his vanity is such, that it will afford him as much consolation as if he were there!

Item 12th. Those Democratic presses in Tennessee, whose editors lied hard, and threw mud fast and thick, with a hope of being rewarded.

with the State Printing, and with offices under the General Government, my will is, that they be allowed to shift for themselves. The world owes each a living, and if they cannot obtain it fairly, the *principles* of our party, if *carried out*, especially *between two days*, will bring in money, corn, hogs, chickens, bedquilts, and all other "necessaries of life."

Item 13th. My will is, and ever has been, that the Directors of the Bank of the State, and its Branches, and their friends and their relations, hold on to what money they have got, and that they get all they can between this time and their surrendering up the Banks!

Item 14th. *Contrary* to my will, I appoint JAMES C. JONES and the two WHIG SENATORS shortly to be elected, my Executors.—This I regret, because I know they will manage the affairs of my estate on different principles from those which have governed me; and which will, I know, cause some of my *particular* friends, to comply with that requisition of Scripture, which says,—"*in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*"

Item 15th. My will is, that I be decently buried upon *all-fores*, on my cotton farm in Mississippi, with my head towards the west, and a withered *Polk Stalk* planted thereon, labeled "*Repudiation of the debt contracted for my interment.*" This I desire, that when the last barrel of *hard cider* is emptied, the last *coon skin* is used up, and the Whigs are on their way to that state of being "where the wicked cease to trouble and the weary are at rest," I may join my friends on their march to the head waters of *Salt River*—a stream which the Missouri Ham-bugger has promised shall be navigable by that time!

Attest,

"The immortal 13."

GRAND-SON OF EZEKIEL POLK



CHAPTER XIX.

Electoral Votes for President and Vice President in 1840—New and Old Ratio—Causes of Van Buren's defeat—the Calhoun Papers against the Van Buren Organs—Opposition meetings in New York.

ELECTORAL VOTES.

By the new apportionment, the number of Electors of President and Vice President, chosen by all the States, will be two hundred and seventy-five, of which, one hundred and thirty-eight are necessary for a choice.

We give the following comparative table of the number of Electoral votes to which each State is entitled, both by the new and old ratio :

	<i>New Ratio.</i>	<i>Old Ratio.</i>
1. New York,	36	42
2. Pennsylvania,	26	30
3. Ohio,	23	21
4. VIRGINIA,	17	23
5. Tennessee,	13	15
6. Kentucky,	12	14
7. Massachusetts,	12	14
8. Indiana,	12	9
9. North Carolina,	11	15
10. Georgia,	10	11
11. SOUTH CAROLINA,	9	11
12. ALABAMA,	9	7
13. Maine,	9	10
14. ILLINOIS,	9	5
15. Maryland,	8	10
16. New Jersey,	7	8
17. MISSOURI,	7	4
18. Connecticut,	6	8
19. NEW HAMPSHIRE,	6	7
20. Vermont,	6	7
21. Louisiana,	6	5
22. Mississippi,	5	4
23. Michigan,	5	3
24. Rhode Island,	4	4
25. Delaware,	3	3
26. ARKANSAS,	3	3
	275	294

The number of Electors, by the Constitution, it will be recollected,

is equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress. Thus, by the new ratio :

Senators,	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Representatives,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	223
Total,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	275

The old 13 States, (including Maine, formerly belonging to Massachusetts,) are entitled to 170 Electoral votes ; the new States to 105.

Nineteen of the 26 States voted for Gen. Harrison, giving him 234 Electoral votes ; the same States are now entitled to 215 Electors.—The 7 States in CAPITALS gave Mr. Van Buren 60 votes in 1840 ; they are now entitled to the same number.

The advocates of Van Buren with the Washington Globe and Richmond Enquirer, at their head, aware of the tremendous defeat which he sustained before the people, and with a view to obviate the effect that defeat must have on the public mind, in the coming contest, are pursuing a singular course for men who claim to be *Democrats*. Having resolved to try him again, they endeavor to appologise for his disgraceful defeat, by asserting that he had not fair play, and that the people were fooled. They contend that Van had a majority of the people with him, but that they were *bought up* by his opponents ! That is to say, the good and holy, true and virtuous, incorruptible Democracy, according to their own showing, were *bribed* to vote against their favorite man and measures !

But what a stupenduous operation this purchase of the Democracy must have been, by the "British Federal Whigs !" See the thing as it is. Gen Harrison's majority in the popular vote of the Nation, was ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIX THOUSAND ! The leading organs of Democracy say, that but for the agency of *corruption*, Van would have beaten Harrison as far as the latter beat him. Multiply the majority of Harrison by *two*, and it will be seen that 292,000 good and true Democrats were actually bought at the shambles, by the corrupt leaders of the Whig party ! Democrats, what say you to this charge preferred against you by your own organs ?

But we must call the attention of the reader to an extract from the *New York Plebian*, a violent, but still a leading Van Buren paper, edited by that notorious prince of villians, *Levi D. Slamm*. We copy this false and atrocious paragraph entire, from a leading editorial, because the whole article was written with a view to show the cause of Mr. Van Buren's defeat in the memorable and never-to-be-forgotten contest of 1840. The *Plebian* says :

"LARGE AMOUNTS OF FUNDS WERE CONTRIBUTED, AND PUT IN CHARGE OF UNSCRUPULOUS AND WICKED AGENTS TO BUY UP AND TRANSPORT FROM TOWN TO TOWN, STEAMBOAT CARGOES OF FOREIGN VOTES, ACCORDING TO ORDER, AND AT A STIPULATED PRICE PER HEAD. THESE VENAL DREGS OF HUMAN CORRUPTION, THUS BOUGHT UP AS ARTICLES OF TRAFFIC IN THE HUMAN MART, WERE SOMETIMES MADE TO SWEAR TO THE FAITHFUL AND CONFIDENTIAL EXECUTION OF THE VICIOUS BARGAIN; AND IN SOME INSTANCES THEY VOTED *SIXTEEN TIMES*, AND PROBABLY COMMITTED *SIXTEEN PERJURIES* IN ONE AND THE SAME ELECTION!!!"

In the language of the immortal Clay, on a memorable occasion, we alone find the cause of Van's defeat in '40 in this—"TRUTH IS IMMORTAL AND PUBLIC JUSTICE CERTAIN." But we are keeping our readers from some articles we intended them to see. We give an extract first, from a long article in the *Washington Spectator*, an able Calhoun journal published in that city. After furnishing a tabular statement of the votes cast in 1836, and again in 1840, the *Spectator* proceeds:—

Thus it will be perceived that, in 1836, the Democracy were in the majority in fifteen out of twenty six States, though the popular majority for Mr. Van Buren, was but 25,413, and was the smallest ever received by a successful Democratic candidate. In 1840, the Democracy were in the majority in but six out of the twenty-six States, and in a popular minority of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand!

To what cause then can the overwhelming and unparalleled defeat of our party in 1840 be attributed? It cannot be ascribed to the unpopularity of Democratic principles, for they have rebounded from the fall, and are rapidly progressing to their accustomed ascendancy, *and it is FOLLY, nay, worse, it is WICKEDNESS to assert that it was wholly the result of fraud, debauchery, and bribery.*—This would be an insult to our Republican Institutions, and reiterating in other words the exploded heresies of the high toned Federal school—that the People are incapable of self-government, and are their own worst enemies. And at whose door would lie the charge of having been bribed or bought like cattle in the market? Not the Whigs because there was no necessity of bribing them. And will any Democratic Editor have the hardihood to assert that a sufficient number of his political brethren were bribed, as would account for our tremendous defeat.

The Rhode Island *Chronicle*, another Calhoun paper, also comes to the rescue, and demonstrates that it was *not* "bribery," but Mr. Van Buren's own unworthiness, together with his maladministration, that defeated him. It settles also another point, much prated of by our adversaries, that the Whigs had no principles "for the public eye." The *Chronicle* says:

"It must after a sober and careful review of the past, be admitted by

all candid men, that Mr. Van Buren's administration was in many respects an unfortunate one. It was unfortunate in the **LOSS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF MANY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS BY THE DEFALCATIONS OF HIS OFFICERS.** It was unfortunate in being identified with the *Quixotic attempts to establish an absolute metallic currency, to the exclusion of all the forms of credit for the business operations of the people, as well as in its recommendation of the obnoxious two hundred thousand Militia bill.* And it was especially unfortunate in its *extravagant expenditures—amounting to nearly thirty-seven millions of dollars annually.*

Notwithstanding all that has been said and sung relative to the warmth and enthusiasm with which the last Presidential canvas was conducted, *no sensible man can doubt that these subjects were fully discussed before the Grand Inquest of the Nation, and a verdict quite decisive enough given by the people in relation to them.*"

One more paragraph from the Chronicle, touching Mr. Van Buren's *Democracy*, and we drop the subject for the present. The editor declares that:—

"At the most trying period of the existence of the Democratic Party in this country—during the last war with Great Britain—Mr. Van Buren opposed the regular Presidential nomination of the Democratic Party, the election of James Madison, and united himself with the Federal Party in the support of De Witt Clinton, the PEACE PARTY candidate. In 1823 and '24 he likewise strenuously opposed the election of General Jackson to the Presidency. Since John Quincy Adams refused to appoint him Minister to England in 1826, he has it is true, whether induced by interest or principle, it is now necessary to inquire, acted with the Democratic party, with commendable consistency. For this consistency of action with, and support of the party Mr. Van Buren has received from the Democracy of the State of New York and the Union, the offices of United States Senator, Secretary of State, Minister to England, Vice President, and President of the United States, from which he received the princely fortune of \$176,000!!"

This last declaration is perfectly satisfactory, and sustains fully what the Whigs have always asserted, that Van Buren's Democracy never developed itself until after Gen. Jackson's election was rendered certain, and a favorable opportunity offered him to ride into power by playing upon Gen. Jackson's feelings, and singing hosannas to the present Democratic party.

In reply to the wholesale libels of the Richmond Enquirer and its profuse denunciations of the "log-cabin and hard cider mummeries of 1840," the Mobile Tribune, a Calhoun paper thus discourseth:—

"We repeat the question: What caused Mr. Van Buren's defeat by two hundred thousand votes?"

For our own part, we feel compelled to say that we believe the

larger portion of those votes was composed of the honest, the deliberate, the well considered suffrages of those who cast them.

Those suffrages conveying the will of two hundred thousand of our countrymen, are not so lightly, nay so contemptuously to be considered. The zeal of Mr. Van Buren's friends is one thing; the settled opposition and repugnance of an overwhelming majority of his countrymen are quite a different thing. Are the popular feelings which, in 1840, shook this nation like a tropical tornado, worthy of no respect? The revolution of 1840 had indeed a meaning, which those who look upon the surface of things only have read with little profit.

For our own part, we stand at all times awed before the aroused majesty of the people. As for that great popular movement of 1840, we must pluck from our bosom every democratic instinct ere we stand up to sit upon and scoff at the power which proclaimed the will of a self-governed nation—the sovereign thunders of a free independent suffrage, which roared in its resistless strength across the length and breadth of the land. We may have despised the exhibitions of folly and excitement which characterized that era. But what great and general excitement is without them? These were the trash and weeds which floated upon the surface, but he must be a shallow reasoner who fancied that they contained the force which lashed the ocean into a commotion so terrible. The revolution of 1840 was a manifestation of public feeling not to be disguised."

How very different is the language of a Locofoco leader *after* an election, from what it is *before* an election. For instance,

Before an Election: Dear people! you are too pure, too patriotic, and too intelligent to be deluded by Federalists, Abolitionists, and Bankites. The sovereign power is lodged with *you*, and you control the ballot-box, and you *always* do right! *You* can't be humbugged! *You* never have been misled; and when the liberties of your country are endangered, *you* will come to their rescue! Nobody can gun *you*! In short, *you* never do wrong!

After an Election: You miserable fools! you know-nothing rascals, you are incapable of *self-government*! You are a mere "floating mass, in which little or no confidence can be reposed at the hour of trial!" You have been bought up by British Gold! You poor devils, you have no principles! You have *sold* yourselves to the Federalists! You have gone off after Log Cabin fooleries! You have worshiped a skunk-skin! You all got beastly drunk on Hard-Cider! You have elected an old fool! Go to the devil, you pitiful wretches, you can "be most conveniently spared!"

Verly the troubles among the faithful are increasing. The Van Buren party in the city of New York, recently held a meeting in Tammany Hall, at which they appointed nine delegates to the State

Convention, instructing them to go their death, as the saying is, for the little Magician. This induced the Calhoun party in the same city to call a great meeting in the *Park*, in pursuance of which, the New York Evening Express, of Sept. 5th, says, "there were about five thousand people assembled in the Park." The call for the meeting, signed by a special committee of *one hundred men*, was in the following words, as set forth in their hand-bills:—

PARK MEETING, EN MASSE.—Democrats! Rally to the Park, all those in favor of the Cause—"Free Trade, Low Duties, No Debt, Separation from Banks, Economy, Retrenchment, and Strict Adherence to the Constitution"—*the man*, JOHN C. CALHOUN, as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States, in 1844—*the Country*—its System of Government—its Representative Institutions—the inalienable right of the people of each Congressional District to elect by their direct suffrages the delegate who shall represent them in the National Convention; also, the vote per capita, and that each vote shall be counted for the candidate to whom it is given, the same being consistent with the great Democratic principle that the Representative shall speak the voice and carry out the will of those he represents.

Friends of the Cause, the Man, and the Country, meet in the Park, this, **MONDAY EVENING**; September 4th; at half past 5 o'clock, rain or shine.

Victory in such a case will be great and glorious; much will it rebound to the honor of those by whom it will have been won, and long will it perpetuate the liberty and prosperity of the country."

At this meeting, DOCT. STEPHEN HASBROUCK was called to the Chair, and *twenty* Vice Presidents, and *six* Secretaries were appointed. Speeches were made—preambles and resolutions were offered and adopted, as usual, while the meeting collectively declared for the Nullifier, with this verse as their motto:

"Thy spirit Independence! let me share;
Lord of the lion heart, and eagle eye:
Thy form I'll follow with my bosom bare,
Nor fear the storm that howls along the sky!"

CHAPTER XX.

Synopsis, showing the year in which each State of the Union was settled, and by what people—the number of square miles—time of holding elections—qualifications of voters, and number of Representatives and Electors of each State.

MAINE—Settled 1630, by English; 32,000 square miles, Capital Augusta; general election second Monday in September. Legislature meet first Wednesday in January; Voters must reside in the State three months before any election; sends members to Congress 7; Electors 9.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Settled 1623, by English; 95,000 square miles; Capital Concord; general election second Tuesday in March; Legislature meets on the first Wednesday in June; Voters require no other qualification than to be twenty-one years of age; sends members of Congress 4; Electors 6.

MASSACHUSETTS—Settled 1620; by English; 7,500 square miles; Capital Boston; general election second Monday in November; Legislature meets the first Wednesday in January; Voters one year's residence in the State, and have paid a State or County tax; sends members of Congress 10; Electors 12.

VERMONT—Settled 1749, by English; 10,200 square miles; Capital Montpelier; general election first Tuesday in September; Legislature meets second Thursday in October; Voters to reside in the State one year; sends members of Congress 4; Electors 6.

RHODE ISLAND—Settled 1636, by English; 1,360 square miles; Capital Providence; general election for Governor and Senator in April; for Representatives in April and August; Legislature meets first Wednesday in June and last Wednesday in October; Voters must be residents in the State three months, and have a freehold of 134 dollars; sends members of Congress 2; Electors 4.

CONNECTICUT—Settled 1633, by English; 4,760 square miles; Capital New Haven; general election first Monday in April; Legislature meets first Wednesday in May; Voters to hold a freehold of \$5 per annum, have done military duty, paid a State tax, and taken the prescribed oath; sends members of Congress 4; Electors 6.

NEW YORK—Settled 1614, by Dutch; 46,000 square miles; Capital Albany; general election first Monday in November, 3 days; Legislature meets first Tuesday in January; Voters, citizens 21 years of age, inhabitants of the State for the last 6 months; colored men of a freehold of \$250, paid taxes, and been a citizen three years; sends members of Congress 34; Electors 36.

NEW JERSEY—Settled 1724, by Danes; 8,300 square miles; Capitol Trenton; general election second Tuesday in October; Voters to be citizens of the State one year, and worth 50 pounds proclamation money; sends members of Congress 5; Electors 7.

PENNSYLVANIA—Settled 1682, by English; 44,000 square miles; Capitol Harrisburg; general election second Tuesday in October; Legislature meets first Tuesday in January; Voters, white, one year in State, ten days where voting, and pay tax assessed ten days before election, between 21 and 22, vote without tax; sends members of Congress 21; Electors 26.

DELAWARE—Settled 1627, by Swedes and Fins; 2,100 square miles; Capitol Dover; general election second Tuesday in October; Legislature meets first Tuesday in January; Voters, the same qualifications required as in Pennsylvania; sends members of Congress 1; Electors 3.

MARYLAND—Settled 1624, by English; 14,000 square miles; Capitol Annapolis; general election first Monday in October; Legislature meets first Monday in December; Voters, one year's residence in the county where he shall offer to vote; sends members of Congress 6; Electors 8.

VIRGINIA—Settled 1607, by English; 64,000 square miles; Capitol Richmond; general election in April; Legislature meets first Monday in December; Voters, freehold of \$25, or been a housekeeper one year, or been assessed, amounts to almost universal suffrage; sends members of Congress 15; Electors 17.

NORTH CAROLINA—Settled 1650, by English; 48,000 square miles; Capitol Raleigh; general election in August; Legislature meets second Monday in November; Voter, citizen of the State one year, may vote for a member of the House of Commons, but must own 50 acres of land to vote for a Senator; sends members to Congress 9; Electors 11.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Settled 1689 by English; 24,000 square miles; Capitol Columbia; general election second Monday in October; Legislature meets fourth Monday in November; Voter, resident of the State two years, and six months of the district where voting; sends members of Congress 7; Electors 9.

GEORGIA—Settled 1733, by English; 60,000 square miles; Capitol Milledgeville; general election first Monday in October; Legislature meets first Monday in November; Voter, citizen of the State, and six months residence of county where voting, and have paid all taxes imposed upon him; sends members of Congress 8; Electors 10.

LOUISIANA—Settled 1699, by French; 48,000 square miles; Capitol New Orleans; general election first Monday in July; Legislature meets first Monday in January; Voter to reside one year in the county, and paid taxes within the last six months; sends members of Congress 4; Electors 6.

OHIO—Settled 1788, by English; 39,000 square miles; Capitol

Columbus; general election second Tuesday in October; Legislature meets first Monday in December; Voter, one year's residence in the State preceding the election, having paid or been charged with State or county tax; sends members of Congress 21; Electors 23.

KENTUCKY—Settled 1775, by Virginians; 42,000 square miles; Capitol Frankfort; general election first Monday in August; Legislature meets first Monday in November; Voters, two years residence in the State, and in the county where offering to vote, one year preceding the election; sends members of Congress 10; Electors 12.

ILLINOIS—Settled 1749, by French; 53,000 square miles; Capitol Vandalia; general election first Monday in August; Legislature meets first Monday in December; Voter, residence in the State six months, but can only vote in the county where he actually resides; sends members of Congress 7; Electors 9.

INDIANA—Settled 1730, by French; 39,000 square miles; Capitol Indianapolis; general election first Monday in August; Legislature meets first Monday in December; Voter, one year's residence in the State preceding the election, entitles to vote in county of residence; sends members of Congress 10; Electors 13.

ALABAMA—Settled 1713, by French; Capitol Tuscaloosa; general election first Monday in August; Legislature meets fourth Monday in August; Legislature meets fourth Monday in October; Voter, citizen of the United States, one year of this, and three months residence in the county where he shall offer to vote; sends members of Congress 7; Electors 9.

MISSISSIPPI—Settled 1716, by French; Capitol Jackson; general election in August; Legislature meets first Monday in November; Voter, citizen of the United States, and one year's residence in this State, and in the county six months, and have done military duty, or paid taxes; sends members of Congress 4; Electors 6.

MISSOURI—Settled 1763, by French; 60,000 square miles; Capitol Jefferson City; general election first Monday in August; Legislature meets first Monday in November; Voter, citizen of the United States, one year's residence in this State next preceding the election, and three months in the county; sends members of Congress 5; Electors 7.

TENNESSEE—Settled in 1765, by English; 40,000 square miles; Capitol Nashville; general election first Tuesday in August; Legislature meets first Monday in October; Voter, citizen of the United States and six months in the county where his vote is offered; sends members of Congress 11; Electors 13.

FLORIDA—For near 260 years under Spain, was ceded to the United States in 1819, and the East and West formed one territory in 1822. St. Augustine is the oldest town in the United States; Tallahassee is the Capitol. Pensacola U. S. Naval station.

MICHIGAN—Settled in 1676, by French; contains 65,000 square

miles; Indians, 30,000 Capital Detroit; soil rich; iron, copper and lead mines abound; Voters, all citizens 21 years of age; sends 3 members to Congress; Electors 5.

ARKANSAS—Settled by French from Louisiana, and formed a part of Missouri in 1819; contains 57,000 square miles; admitted in the Union 1836; Capitol Little Rock; Voters, all citizens 21 years of age; sends 1 member to Congress; Electors 3.

WISCONSIN—Settled by emigrants from other, principally New England States; bounded by Lakes Michigan and Superior on the East, by Hudson Bay Co. Territories on the North, Illinois on the South, Mississippi and Iowa and the West; contains 80,000 square miles; Capitol Madison.

IOWA TERRITORY—Lies between Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, bounded on the North by Hudson Bay Co. Territories; contains 150,000 square miles; purchased of Sacas and Foxes 1832; Capitol Iowa City.

INDIAN OR WESTERN TERRITORY—Extends from the Western boundary of Arkansas and Missouri to Red River on the South and the Ponca and Platte or Nebraska on the North; roughly estimated at about 275,000 square miles. The Western Territory, extending to the Rocky Mountains, contains 340,000 square miles. Columbia or Oregon Territory, claimed by the United States, is about 850 miles long, North and South, 400 to 700 miles broad, and estimated to contain 350,000 square miles.

*** TWO SENATORS are sent from each State, in addition to the preceding enumeration of Members of Congress—*Southern Chronicle*

ALIST OF OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FROM 1789 TO 1841.

PRESIDENTS.

- 1789. George Washington, of Virginia.
- 1797. John Adams, of Massachusetts.
- 1801. Thomas Jefferson of Virginia.
- 1809. James Madison, of Virginia.
- 1817. James Monroe, of Virginia.
- 1825. John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts.
- 1829. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.
- 1837. Martin Van Buren of New York.
- 1841. William Henry Harrison, of Ohio.
- 1841. John Tyler, of Virginia.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

- 1789. John Adams, of Massachusetts.
- 1797. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.
- 1801. Aaron Burr, of New York.
- 1805. George Clinton, of New York.
- 1812. Eldridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.
- 1817. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.
- 1825. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.
- 1833. Martin Van Buren, of New York.
- 1837. R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky.
- 1841. John Tyler, of Virginia.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

- 1789. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.
- 1794. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.
- 1795. Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.
- 1800. John Marshall, of Virginia.
- 1801. James Madison, of Virginia.
- 1809. Robert Smith, of Maryland,
- 1811. James Monroe, of Virginia,
- 1818. John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts.
- 1825. Henry Clay, of Kentucky,
- 1829. Martin Van Buren, of New York.
- 1831. Edward Livingston, of Louisiana.
- 1833. Louis McLane, of Delaware.
- 1836. John Forsyth, of Georgia.
- 1841. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

- 1789. Alexander Hamilton, of New York.
- 1796. Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts.
- 1801. Oliver Wolcott, of Virginia.
- 1802. Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania.
- 1814. G. W. Campbell, of Tennessee.
- 1814. Alexander J. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.
- 1817. William H. Crawford, of Georgia.
- 1825. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.
- 1829. Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania.
- 1831. Louis McLane, of Delaware.
- 1833. Roger B. Taney, of Maryland.
- 1834. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire.
- 1841. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio.
- 1844. Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

- 1789. Henry Knox, of Massachusetts.
- 1795. Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts.
- 1796. James M^oHenry of Maryland,
- 1800. Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts.
- 1801. Roger Griswold, of Connecticut.
- 1801. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts.
- 1809. William Eustis, of Massachusetts.
- 1811. William H. Crawford, of Georgia.
- 1813. John Armstrong, of New York.
- 1817. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, (declined.)
- 1817. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.
- 1825. James Barbour, of Virginia.
- 1828. Peter B. Porter, of New York.
- 1829. John H. Eaton, of Tennessee.
- 1831. Lewis Cass, of Ohio.
- 1837. Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina.
- 1841. John Bell, of Tennessee.
- 1844. John McLean of Ohio, (declined.)
- 1844. John C. Spencer, of New York.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY.

- 1789. George Cabbott, of Massachusetts.
- 1798. Benjamin Studdard, of Maryland.
- 1802. Robert Smith, of Maryland.
- 1805. J. Crowinshield, of Massachusetts.
- 1809. Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina.
- 1812. William Jones of Pennsylvania.
- 1814. B. Crowinshield, of Massachusetts.
- 1818. Smith Thompson, of New York.
- 1824. S. L. Southard, of New Jersey.
- 1829. John Branch, of North Carolina.
- 1831. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire.
- 1834. Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey.
- 1837. James K. Paulding, of New York.
- 1841. George E. Badger, of North Carolina.
- 1841. Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia.

POST MASTERS GENERAL.

- 1789. Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts.
- 1791. Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.
- 1795. Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.
- 1802. Gideon Grainger, of New York.
- 1814. Return J. Meigs, jr., of Ohio.
- 1823. John McLean, of Ohio.
- 1829. William T. Barry, of Kentucky.
- 1835. Amos Kendall, of Kentucky.
- 1840. John M. Niles, of Connecticut.
- 1841. Francis Grainger, of New York.
- 1841. Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky.

CHIEF JUSTICES.

- 1789. John Jay, of New York.
- 1790. William Cushing, of Massachusetts.
- 1796. Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut.
- 1800. John Jay, of New York.
- 1801. John Marshall, of Virginia.
- 1836. Roger B. Taney, of Maryland.

ATTORNEYS GENERAL.

- 1789. Edmond Randolph, of Virginia.
- 1794. William Bradford, of Pennsylvania.
- 1795. Charles Lee, of Virginia.
- 1801. Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts.
- 1805. Robert Smith, of Maryland.
- 1806. John Breckenridge, of Kentucky.
- 1807. Caesar A. Rodney, of Delaware.
- 1811. William A. Pinckney, of Maryland.
- 1814. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.
- 1817. William Wirt, of Virginia.
- 1829. John M. Berrien, of Georgia.
- 1831. Roger B. Taney, of Maryland.
- 1835. Benjamin Butler, of New York.
- 1837. Henry D. Gilpin, of Pennsylvania.
- 1841. John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.
- 1841. Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina.

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LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
HENRY CLAY.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—Mr. Clay's present position—Prospects of the Whig Party—Periodical discomfiture of the Whigs—Causes of these discomfitures—Different pursuits of the Whigs and Locofocos in life—Present condition of the Whig party compared to what it was in 1839—Whig opinion in Georgia, Ohio and Pennsylvania—Lafayette's opinion of Mr. Clay—Benton's opinion of Mr. Clay—Mr. Jefferson's opinion of Mr. Clay—Judge McLean's opinion of Mr. Clay,

THAT Henry Clay will be the Whig candidate for the Presidency, and the only Whig candidate, in the approaching contest, admits of no sort of doubt. Mr. Clay is now in private life—he is not *moving* in any way—he makes no efforts to forestall the deliberations of the Whig National Convention to be held in Baltimore, in May next, where and when nominations for the Presidency and Vice Presidency are to be made. From these considerations many have inferred that Mr. Clay will either not be nominated by the Whig party, or that, if nominated, he will not accept. Such persons know very little of the real character of the man. The position he has assumed in relation to this matter, is one having its origin in just notions of delicacy. Mr. Clay feels it incumbent upon him to await the decision of that Convention, and to do nothing which will seem like an effort to forestall its deliberations. His position, therefore, as well as his movements, are dictated by a wise and judicious regard for the harmony of the Whig party, and a due respect for the feelings of other aspirants to the office, in his own ranks. When the Whigs shall have proclaimed him their choice for a leader in Convention, as we know they will, we know where he will be found, and what his response will be, or else we have no just appreciation of his character. No defeat, no disaster, no predictions, or abuse, prior to the nomination by the great National Convention, can frighten Henry Clay from the track. His giant spirit has never been daunted by obstacles, whatever may have been their magnitude, at any period

of his life, as all will bear us testimony, who know the man. At every period in the history of Henry Clay, the more gloomy the prospect, the more fearless and invincible has he been. The storms and tempests of party, only serve to awaken the tremendous energies of his mind—and while the timid and desponding are shrinking from the contest, then it is that the sound of his voice, eloquent, clear, encouraging, bold and manly, brings that hope which “springs eternal in the human breast,” to the hearts of friends, and victory to the glorious banner of the party who fight under him.

If there be a single Whig who desponds at the reverses which have befallen our party, within the last two years, let him recur to our prostrate and ruined condition in 1839, the particulars of which he well remembers—and from that take confidence in all time to come. Our condition now cannot, even by the most timid or despondent, be regarded as half so hopeless, as it was in that dark age of modern politics, and which “tried men’s souls.” Then we were everywhere overwhelmed with defeat. State after State which, in 1838, had unfurled the Whig banner, in 1839, ingloriously deserted the standard, and mustered under the black flag of Locofocoism; and some which had never faltered in the Whig ranks, proved recreant in that year of Whig trials, tribulations and disasters. Not, only was Congress carried against us then as now; but the whole Democracy of the land were united on their candidate, MR. VAN BUREN, who was then in office, wielding the whole patronage of the Government to sustain himself, and to place himself and friends beyond the reach of attack. Then our prospects were truly gloomy, and for indulging in misgivings, the stoutest hearts might have been excused. But a brighter day dawned upon the land—1840 came, and the long-to-be-remembered defeats of 1839, were followed up by a series of the most brilliant triumphs ever achieved in any country, by any party.

But the periodical discomfitures of the Whigs, to which we have alluded, is easily accounted for. The Whigs, taken in the aggregate, are those people, who do not spend their time in mourning over petty schemes of selfishness and ambition—they do not make politics a trade, like the mercenary demagogues to whom they stand opposed. Unlike the Locofocos, taken in the aggregate, the Whigs have regular pursuits, on which they rely for the support of themselves and families. Therefore, the State elections do not cause them to abandon their several vocations. It is only on great and stirring occasions, such as was the election in 1840, and such as will be the one in 1844, that the Whigs to a man, will leave their usual vocations and go to the polls.

The Whigs now, as in 1840, embrace a large majority of the American people. On the other hand, the Locofocos, taken in the aggregate, are politicians by trade, and look to the success of party for a living. Not a few of them—are loafers and spongers—with nothing to loose and everything to gain. By politics they make their meat and bread—by politics they live and move and have their being—and at their trade they work! It was on this account, moreover, that they were justly denominated the “Spoils Party”—and by MR. CALHOUN, were truly said “*to be held together by the cohesive power of public plunder!*”

The United States Gazette, thus compares the present condition of the Whig party, with its condition in 1839 :

FACTS WORTHY OF NOTE.—With reference to the election of 1844, the Whigs occupy the same relation, in regard to time, which they did in 1838 with reference to the Presidential election in 1840. And with the exception of the distracted state of the Locofoco party, in reference to their Presidential candidate, the circumstances, to almost everything else, are nearly the same.

In 1838 the State of Pennsylvania elected Gov. Porter by a majority of 5496.

And yet in 1840 Pennsylvania cast her electoral vote against the Locofoco candidate for the Presidency.

In 1838 Delaware elected Mr. Robinson (Locofoco) her delegate in Congress by a majority of 50.

And yet in 1840 Delaware elected anti-Locofoco electors by a majority of more than a thousand.

Georgia in 1838 elected McDonald (Locofoco) for Governor by a majority of 375.

But in 1840 Georgia gave a good round majority for the anti-Locofoco candidate for President.

Ohio in the year 1838 gave Shannon (Locofoco) for Governor a majority of 5729.

Yet in 1840 Ohio gave the anti-Locofoco electoral ticket a neat little majority of 23,000.

Maryland in 1838 gave to Grayson, the Locofoco candidate for Governor, a majority of 259.

Yet in 1840 this same Maryland gave a majority for the anti-Locofoco electoral ticket of 4,776.

In 1838 the State of Massachusetts elected Marcus Morton, the Locofoco candidate for Governor, by a majority of ONE.

Yet in 1840 good old Massachusetts gave to the anti-Locofoco electoral ticket a majority of 20,930.

In 1838 New Jersey returned to Congress a Locofoco delegation, claiming a majority of 66. This claim was not allowed, but the Whig REAL majority was less than that.

And in 1840 New Jersey gave the Whig electoral ticket a majority of 2,317.

Maine in the year 1838 gave to Fairfield, the Locofoco candidate for Governor, a majority of 3,328.

But in 1840 Maine gave a majority for the Whig electoral ticket of 411.

Michigan in 1838 elected Stevens T. Mason, the Locofoco candidate for Governor, and the rest of the Locofoco State ticket

Yet Michigan in 1840 gave for the Whig electoral ticket a majority of 1,802.

There was no election in Tennessee in 1838. But in 1837 the Locos carried their ticket by 18,000; and in 1839 they carried Polk (Locofoco) by a majority of 3,000

Yet in 1840 the Whigs elected their electoral ticket by a majority of 12,102.

We take no notice of those States which went for the Whigs in 1838, and also at the Presidential election in 1840, such as N. Carolina, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, though every one of these States gave a majority for the Whig electoral ticket in 1840 vastly superior to that which they gave for the State officers in 1838; and that increase of majority goes to strengthen the confidence of the Whigs, that in 1844 the same result will be found!"

WHIG OPINION IN GEORGIA.—The Whig State Convention of Georgia, through a committee, of which Senator BERRIEN was chairman, recently issued an able and interesting address to the people of that State. The following is the concluding paragraph:

"The Convention have also reconsidered, and with entire unanimity reaffirmed, the nomination of HENRY CLAY for the office of Chief Magistrate of the Union. Of this patriotic citizen, so long and so eminently distinguished in the councils of the nation, whose name is familiar as a household word throughout the length and breadth of our land, and who has elevated our national character both at home and abroad, what shall we say to you? Shall we pronounce his eulogy? It is written in the hearts of an admiring and grateful people. Shall we detail his services? For more than thirty years past the record of them is to be found in the pages of our nation's history. What then—shall we be silent? No, fellow citizens! We bear to you the aspirations, the ardent desires of a suffering people, as they are wafted to us by every breeze from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West; of freemen bowing in humble submission to that inscrutable Providence which has heretofore wrested from them the fruits of victory, but firm in their reliance on the same abiding mercy which has been so often vouchsafed to them, strong in the assurance of a hope which has never faltered, and turning with united and unwavering confidence to the Father of Ashland as the stay and hope of our country, *et Deo juvante*, the restorer and protector of her prosperity and happiness. Prepared for the struggle which awaits them, "they bide their time," and they say to the freemen of Georgia, "Be ye also ready!"

WHIG OPINION IN OHIO.—The following highly satisfactory information of the current opinion among the Whigs of the great State of Ohio, is copied from the Ohio State Journal of recent date:

"It must have been observed that every declaration of mass and delegate Conventions throughout this State have been in favor of the great American statesman of Ashland. We do not remember having seen an expressor, in a township, county, or district meeting, or meeting of delegates, (and nearly every one has spoken,) but what has been a clear and explicit commendation of Henry Clay, and an expression of confidence in the election of this favorite of all who are advocating a complete restoration and establishment of the policy of Washington and the fathers of the great Republic—the American policy and Republican principles. There is but one feeling among us in Ohio; and for this reason we have neglected to copy all the expressions of public feeling, but have been content with recording those of Congressional Conventions. Our friends in other States *may rest assured that HENRY CLAY will carry this State against Van Buren, or any other single Locofoco, by a majority as overwhelming as did General Harrison in 1840.*"

WHIG OPINION IN PENNSYLVANIA.—A Whig Convention was recently held in Bedford county in Pennsylvania, the feeling of which is thus described by the Bedford Enquirer:

"The best feeling was manifested at the Convention on Monday.—The enthusiastic outbreak at the mention of Mr. Clay's name, shows how deep and abiding is the determination of the people to carry out the purely American principles in the advocacy of which he is distinguished, and give efficiency to the glorious victory of 1840 by a still more brilliant achievement in '44. We are proud of a demonstration so noble, founded as it is in the finest feelings of the human breast—gratitude for the services of a long tried servant, and sympathy for the suffering of the toiling millions. It is an earnest of what Pennsylvania will do when the time for action arrives."

GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S OPINION OF MR. CLAY.—

Lafayette, the bosom companion of Washington, his comrade in arms, in the glorious revolution, feeling the deepest interest in the welfare of the United States, and well acquainted with our institutions and great men, always desired to see Henry Clay elevated to the Presidency.—An officer of the United States Navy, being in the city of Paris, in the fall of 1832, was invited by General Lafayette to visit him at Lagrange, his country seat. During the three days and nights the Naval officer spent at Lagrange, much conversation was had on the affairs and prominent men of the United States. As the General's guest was about to leave, he introduced him into his study, where, pressing him in vain to remain longer, Lafayette said:

"Before you leave me, I want to show you our friend;" and leading into another room, he exhibited a portrait of Mr. Clay. "Sir," said the General "*that is the man whom I hope to see President of the United States.*"

BENTON'S OPINION OF MR. CLAY.—With us, Col. Benton

is not very good authority in any thing, but with the Locofoco party he is. In the Missouri Intelligencer of October 23d, 1822, there appeared a letter over the signature of the Missouri Senator, in which he expressed the following opinion of Mr. Clay.

"The principles which would govern Mr. Clay's administration, if elected, are well known to the nation. They have been displayed on the floor of Congress for the last seventeen years. They constitute a system of *American Policy*, based upon the *agriculture and manufactures of his own country*—upon interior as well as foreign commerce—upon internal as well as seaboard improvements—upon independence of the new world, close commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. It is said that others would pursue the same system; we answer that the *founder* of the system is the *natural executor of his own work*. That the most efficient protector of American iron, lead, hemp, wool and cotton, would be the triumphant champion of the new 'Tariff'; the safest friend to interior commerce would be the statesman who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the sea of the West—the most zealous promoter of internal improvements, must be the President, who has triumphed over the President that opposed the construction of National roads and canals—the most successful applicant for treaties with Mexico and South America would be the eloquent advocate for their own independence.

THOMAS HART BENTON."

JEFFERSON'S OPINION OF CLAY.—There are no men, in all this vast extent of country, who *pretend* to have a greater regard for the opinions of THOMAS JEFFERSON, than the modern Democrats. His name, his thoughts, his policy, his public views of men and things, are swung around their necks, in a huge budget, and at each successive canvass, are thrown into the teeth of their opponents, with fearful effect.

We should regret extremely if the hope expressed by the sage of Monticello, in the subjoined letter, should have a tendency to lessen him in the estimation of those who seem to worship him now, as if they believe they were to go to him after death! It is certain that the opinions expressed in the subjoined letter were never recanted. He died in the following faith :

MONTICELLO, May 25, 1823.

DEAR SIR—I have received your letter of the 10th of this month; and at the same time was delivered me by Capt. Barlow, a piece of domestic fabric called negro cloth, containing twenty-six yards for my acceptance and inspections. I thank you for the kind and very flattering expressions contained in your letter; and for the handsome present of the cloth. I should be happy to return you something more solid than empty thanks.

I have examined the cloth, and although I am of opinion that it is well calculated for the dress of negro slaves, who reside in South Carolina and the more genial climates of the South, I am fearful that it would not be found adequate to the wants of the Virginia slave. For

the summer, it would be too warm—for the winter, too cold; still, if you can improve the fabric by putting a little more wool in the filling, and mixing a little with the warp, I do not know but it might be found adequate to all our purposes.

You ask my opinion of the American system? Relative to that somewhat absorbing question, I should hope that the whole of my past life and policy had given a satisfactory reply. I have always been of opinion that the people of this nation should manufacture all the fabrics that their exigencies demand, if they can do so, and that they can do so without applying to the workshops of England, France and Germany, who will doubt. Cotton and wollens we make in rare abundance, and of a quality quite good enough to answer all our wants and demands; why then should we travel to Europe for our supplies? For our silks and fine linens, we must for some time to come, go to the workshops of Europe; but I apprehend that the day is not far distant when even they will be manufactured by native industry.

You ask my opinion of the merits of Mr. Henry Clay and his policy for the protection of domestic industry and manufactures.—These are questions which I feel some delicacy about answering, first, because Mr. Clay is now a candidate for the Presidency, and secondly, I never yet fully understood to what ends his policy extends: and although I will advance my opinions relative to the questions you put to me, I must beg that you will not at this juncture give my views to the public through the press. As for Mr. Clay, I consider him to be one of the most talented and brilliant men and Statesmen that the country has ever produced, and should I live many years longer, I hope to see him hold the place of chief executive of the American republic. His career, thus far in life, has been a career of glory, and he has achieved that for his country whilst engaged in her cause which would ornament the brightest place in the escutcheon of the most favored statesman of any age or nation. I say thus much in reply to our interrogatories, but, as I said before, I do not wish to have my remarks given to the press, for the simple reason that this country is involved in a political excitement, in which I am not disposed to take part, I have long since resolved not to take part in the politics of the times. My wrist, which is quite lame, admonishes me to discontinue this hasty note. With assurances of the most perfect respect,

I am your obliged fellow-citizen.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JUDGE McLEAN'S OPINION OF MR. CLAY—Some of the Loco-foco presses have been publishing that Judge McLEAN, of Ohio, would be substituted for Mr. Clay, by the approaching Convention. In reply to all this, a correspondent of the Charlottesville [Va.] Advocate, published a letter from the Judge, which settles that matter conclusively. Judge McLean is a Clay man, a good Whig, and a pure patriot. His opinion of the last fourteen years of misrule, is clearly set forth in this letter; but the gist of it is contained in the concluding paragraph.—Judge McLean says:—

"The office of President, in my opinion, has been lowered, and also the character of the country, at home and abroad, by the means used to secure that office. High as the Presidency of this great nation is, it may be reached at too great a price. It sinks below the ambition of an honorable mind, when it is attainable only by a sacrifice of the loftiest patriotism. Not to name others, we have in the elevation of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, examples of a high and honorable ambition which is worthy of imitation. These eminent men, when named for the office of President, reposing on what they had done and what their known capacities enabled them to do, in the highest public trusts, neither took, nor seemed to take, any agency in their own advancement.

For many years I have been deeply impressed with the injustice, the corrupting and ruinous effects of political partizanship. Its introduction into the Federal Government has well nigh ruined our beloved country. Before this bane had perverted our moral sense, our love of country, and, so far as politics are concerned, almost every noble feeling of the heart, we were happy as a people in the enjoyment of great and uninterrupted prosperity. And whatever may be said to the contrary, this terrible evil lies at the foundation of all our embarrassments. It has been mainly instrumental in the commercial relations we have witnessed, and it has prostrated our political morality. Our pecuniary losses, within a few years past, are almost beyond the power of computation: but these are scarcely worthy of consideration, in comparison with the loss, it may be the irreparable loss, of moral force in our institutions. That man must be blind to the admonitions of history, who supposes that a free government can be long sustained, which addresses itself, with all its influence to the baser passions of our nature. Such a course leads to a widely diffused corruption, and consequent ruin. In my judgement nothing can rescue our government from this, the common fate of republics, but a change in its political action. This action must be elevated. It must reach and rouse the moral tone of the nation. Instead of administering to the prostituted appetites of demagogues, it must rest on the virtuous and enlightened public opinion. It must gather strength by its acts—moral strength. Its aims should be the general good. The chief of the government in making appointments to office should carry out the principles of the virtuous Monroe, who on a certain person being recommended to him for an office, as a personal friend, with good qualifications, remarked, with earnestness: "No man can feel more grateful than I do for personal acts of kindness, but in making this appointment I have a high public duty to perform, and I must look to the public interest."

A departure from these principles drove me, reluctantly, from political life; and in all sincerity I assure you that there is no political office, not even the Presidency, which could tempt me again in politics, on principles opposed to those which I approve, and on which I endeavor to act.

Pledges when given by a candidate for public favor should be received with suspicion, as they are generally made to answer a particular pur-

pose and are seldom redeemed. No one, perhaps, should be named for the Presidency, whose opinions, on the leading topics of the day, are unknown to the public. Until within a few years past, pledges were not required from the candidate for the chief magistracy. And I may ask what good has resulted from this innovation? Has it made our Chief Magistrates more faithful to the constitution and their general duties? Let a comparison of our late history with the past, answer this question. Who thought of asking a pledge from the venerated fathers of the republic above named? A sound head and an honest heart, I think, are the best pledges. These will rarely fail, whilst experience shows that pledges are made to be broken.

No one who is named for the Chief Magistracy, from a respectable source, should feel himself at liberty to say that he would decline a nomination for that office. But I beg you to believe, my dear sir, that this remark, is not prompted by vanity which leads me to suppose that my name could be favorably considered by the contemplated Whig Convention. The friends of Mr. Clay, in consideration of his eminent qualifications and long public services, are looking with no ordinary solicitude to his nomination. And I assure you, that I have no wish by the obtrusion of my name to separate my friends, if I have any, from their present associations. I do not desire and would not receive the Presidency, if within my reach, as the instrument of a party. Indeed, I should count it no honor to have my name associated with the downward course of our Government, and such a course is accelerated, and only accelerated, by ultra partyism. To bring back the Government to its old foundations, to restore its lost character, its former purity, energy and elevation, would be an achievement second only to that of Washington's; an achievement which would make any individual the favored son of his country. Of this who would not be proud? and short of this object, no honest man can desire the Presidency.

With the greatest respect I am,

Your grateful and obd't serv't

JOHN McLEAN.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing and arranging the foregoing, we have met with the following from the Concord Statesman, a leading Whig Journal of New Hampshire :

“The name of Clay is trumpeted forth upon the breeze; it is heard from the hill-tops and from the valleys; it is heard in the election results, and it is enshrined—aye, deeply enshrined in the bosoms of the patriotic and country-loving whigs. There his name is sacred. We believe he is destined to be his country's second preserver; we believe he is destined to strike from her shackled limbs the galling chains and fetters which the bitterness of Locofocoism and Tylerism have fastened upon her; and we believe he is destined to place the Union upon a sure foundation, which shall prove a blessing to it, and an eternal rebuke to the enemies of its institutions. And we trust that the motto of the Whigs throughout the country will be—

HENRY CLAY

A SOUND CURRENCY,

And Protection to American Industry!

CHAPTER II.

Birth and Parentage—His early days—The Mill-boy of the Slashes—Studies Law—Hears Patrick Henry—Removes to Kentucky—Debut at a Debating Society—Becomes a successful Practitioner—He advocates the policy of gradually Emancipating the Slaves of Kentucky—Opposes the Alien and Sedition Laws—Is elected to the General Assembly—Instances of his eloquence—Affair with Col. Daviess—Appears at the Bar for Aaron Burr—Subsequent interview with Burr in N. York

[In the following brief and imperfect outline of the life of Mr. Clay, we have attempted no laboured panegyric, for he needs none. We take this occasion, however, once for all, to give the *proper credits*. That portion of the following pages, which relates to the "Life and Public Service of Mr. Clay," we have mostly *abridged* from J. Winchester's life of Clay as published in the New World, and from J. B. Swain's "Life and Speeches of Henry Clay," published by Greely & McElrath, of New York, And that portion of this work which relates to the charge of "Bargain Intrigue and Corruption," is mostly taken from a large pamphlet published by Mr. Clay himself, in 1837, at the office of the Lexington Intelligencer.]

HENRY CLAY is a native of Hanover county, Virginia. He was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in a district of country familiarly known in the neighborhood as the *Slashes*. His father a Baptist clergyman, died during the revolutionary war, leaving a small and much embarrassed estate and seven children, of whom Henry was the fifth, to the care of an affectionate mother. The surviving parent did not possess the means to give her sons a classical education; and the subject of our memoir received no other instruction than such as could be obtained in the log cabin shool-houses, still common in the lower parts of Virginia, at which spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic are taught.

In 1792, his mother, who had become united, in a second marriage, with Mr. Henry Watkins, removed to Woodford county, Kentucky, taking all her children, with the exception of Henry and his oldest brother. It was always a subject of regret with Mr. Clay, that he was deprived at so early an age of his mothers counsel, conversation and care. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and of the utmost tenderness toward her children.

At the age of fourteen he was placed in a small retail store, kept by Mr. Richard Denny, near the Market House in the city of Richmond. He remained here till the next year, (1792) when he was transferred to

the office of the Clerk of the High Court of Chancery, Mr. Peter Tinsley. There he became acquainted with the venerable Chancellor Wythe, attracted his friendly attention, and enjoyed the benefit of his instruction and conversation. The Chancellor being unable to write well, in consequence of the gout or rheumatism in his right thumb, bethought himself of employing his young friend as an amanuensis. This was a fortunate circumstance for the fatherless boy. His attention was thus called to the structure of sentences as he wrote them down from the dictation of his employer; and a taste for the study of grammar was created, which was noticed and encouraged by the Chancellor, upon whose recommendation he read Harris's *Hermes*, Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, Bishop Lowth's *Grammar* and other similar works.

Leaving the office of Mr. Tinsley the latter part of 1796, he went to reside with the late Robert Brooke Esq., the Attorney General, formerly Gov of Virginia. His only regular study of the law was during the year 1797, that he lived with Mr Brooke; but it was impossible that he should not in the daily scenes he witnessed, and in the presence of eminent men whom he so often heard and saw, be in way of gathering much valuable legal information. During his residence of six or seven years in Richmond, he became acquainted with all or most of the eminent Virginians of the period, who lived in that city, or were in the habit of resorting to it—with Edmund Pendleton, Spencer Roane, Chief Justice Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Wickham, Call, Copeland, &c. On two occasions, he had the good fortune to hear Patrick Henry—once, before the Circuit Court of the United States for the Virginia District, on the question of the payment of the British debts; and again before the House of Delegates on a claim of the supernumerary officers in the service of the State during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Clay remembers that remarkable man, his appearance and his manner, distinctly. The impression of his eloquent powers remaining on his mind, is, that their charm consisted mainly in one of the finest voices ever heard, in his graceful gesticulation, and the variety and force of expression which he exhibited in his face.

Henry Clay quitted Richmond in November, 1797, his eldest brother having died while he yet resided in that city. Bearing a license from the judges of the Virginia Court of Appeals to practice law, he established himself in Lexington Kentucky. He was without patrons, without the countenance of influential friends, and destitute of the means of paying his weekly board. "I remember," says he, in his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, "how comfortable I thought I should be, if I could make £100 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received the first fifteen shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into a lucrative practice."

Before assuming the active responsibilities of his profession, he devoted himself with assiduity several months to his legal studies. Even at that period the bar of Lexington was eminent for its ability. Among its members were George Nicholas, James Hughes, John Breckenridge, James Brown, Wm Murray, and others, whose reputation was sufficient to discourage the most stout hearted competition. But true genius is

rarely unaccompanied by a consciousness of its power; and the friendless and unknown youth from Virginia fearlessly entered the field, which, to a less intrepid spirit, would have seemed pre-occupied. He soon commanded consideration and respect. He was familiar with the technicalities of practice; and early habits of business and application, enabled him to effect an easy mastery of the cases entrusted to his charge. His subtle appreciation of character, knowledge of human nature, and faculties of persuasion, render him peculiarly successful in his appeals to a jury; and he obtained great celebrity for his adroit and careful management of criminal cases.

An anecdote is related of him about the time of his first entrance upon his profession, which shows that, notwithstanding his fine capacities, he had some native diffidence to overcome before they were fairly tested. He had joined a debating society, and at one of the meetings the vote was about to be taken upon the question under discussion, when he remarked in a low but audible whisper, that the subject did not appear to him to *have been exhausted*.

“Do not put the question yet—Mr. Clay will speak,” exclaimed a member, who had overheard the half hesitating remark.

The chairman instantly took the hint, and nodded to the young lawyer in token of his readiness to hear what he had to say. With every manifestation of extreme embarrassment, he rose, and, in his confusion, began by saying: “*Gentlemen of the Jury*”—unconsciously addressing his fellow-members as the tribunal, to which he had perhaps often made imaginary appeals in his dreams of a successful debut at the bar. His audience did not add to his agitation by seeming to notice it, and, after floundering and blushing for a moment or two, and stammering out a repetition of the words “*Gentlemen of the Jury*,” he suddenly shook of all distrust and timidity, and launched into his subject with a promptitude and propriety of elocution, which excited general surprise.

To those familiar with the perfect self-possession of Mr. Clay’s manner in after life on all occasions, the most trying and unexpected, this instance will present an amusing contrast; for the evidence is not on record of his ever having failed for an instant in his resources of repartee or of argument in debate.

Shortly after this early essay in public speaking, he was admitted as a practitioner before the Fayette Court of Quarter Sessions, a court of general jurisdiction. Business soon poured in upon him, and during the first term he had a handsome practice. His manners and address, both in personal intercourse and before a jury, were unusually captivating. Frank in avowing his sentiments, and bold and consistent in maintaining them, he laid the foundation of a character for sincerity and honor, which, amid all the shocks of political changes and the scurrilities of partizan warfare, has never been shaken or polluted. In the possession of these attributes, beyond the reach of cavil or of question, is to be found the secret of that inalienable attachment among the vast body of his friends, which has followed him throughout his career.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary success in all the criminal suits entrusted to him, the abilities displayed by Mr. Clay at this period in the civil cases were no less brilliant and triumphant. In suits growing out of the land laws of Virginia and Kentucky, he was especially distinguished; rapidly acquiring wealth and popularity by his practice.

For an enumeration of the various cases in which Mr. Clay was about this time engaged, and in which his success was as marked as his talents were obvious, we must refer the curious reader to the records of the courts of Kentucky, and hasten to exhibit the subject of our memoir on that more extended field, where his history began to be interwoven with the history of his country, and a whole nation hailed him as a champion worthy of the best days of the republic.

As early as 1797, when the people of Kentucky were about electing a convention to form a new constitution for that state, Mr. Clay may be said to have commenced his political career. His first efforts were made in behalf of human liberty, and at the risk of losing that breeze of popular favor, which was bearing on his bark bravely toward the haven of worldly prosperity and renown.

The most important feature in the plan for a new constitution, submitted to the people of Kentucky, was a provision for the prospective eradication of slavery from the State by means of gradual emancipation of those held in bondage. Against this proposal a tremendous outcry was at once raised. It was not to be questioned that the voice of the majority was vehemently opposed to it. But young Clay did not hesitate as to his course. In that spirit of self-sacrifice, which he has since displayed in so many great public emergencies, without stopping to reckon the disadvantage to himself, he boldly arrayed himself on the side of those friendly to emancipation. In the canvass, which preceded the election of members to the convention, he exerted himself with all the energy of his nature in behalf of that cause, which he believed to be the cause of truth and justice. With his voice and pen he actively labored to promote the choice of delegates, who were pledged to its support. He failed in the fulfilment of his philanthropic intentions; and incurred temporary unpopularity by his course. Time, however, is daily making more apparent the wisdom of his counsel.

Mr. Clay has not faltered in his views upon this great question. They are now what they were in 1797. In maintaining the policy of this scheme of gradual emancipation he has ever been fearless and consistent. Let it not be imagined, however, that he has any sympathy with that incendiary spirit, which would seem to actuate some of the clamorers for immediate and unconditional abolition at the present time. His views were farsighted, statesman like and sagacious. He looked to the general good, not merely of his contemporaries but of posterity; and his plan stretched beyond the embarrassments of the hour into the future. A more just, practicable and beneficent scheme than his, for the accomplishment of a consummation so devoutly to be wished by humanity at large, could not have been devised.

During the administration of John Adams in 1798-9, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed. The popular opposition with which these extraordinary measures were received, is still vividly re-

membered in the United States. By the "alien law," the president was authorised to order an alien, whom "he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country "to depart out of the territory within such time" as he should judge proper, upon penalty of being "imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years," &c.

The "sedition law" was designed to punish the abuse of speech and of the press. It imposed a heavy pecuniary fine, and imprisonment for years, upon such as should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of government; upon such as should write, print, utter, publish, &c., "any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the government of the United States or the president," &c.

Mr. Clay stood forth one of the earliest champions of popular rights in opposition to these memorable laws. Kentucky was one of the first states that launched their thunders against them; and though many speakers came forward to give expression to the indignation which was swelling in the public heart, none succeeded so well in striking the responsive chord as our young lawyer. He was soon regarded as the leading spirit of the opposition party; and it was about this time that the title of "the great commoner" was bestowed upon him.

Four years afterwards, when Mr. Clay was absent from the county of Fayette at the Olympian Springs, he was brought forward without his knowledge or previous consent, as a candidate, and elected to the General Assembly of Kentucky. He soon made his influence felt in that body. In 1804, Mr. Felix Grundy, then an adroit and well known politician, made an attempt in the Legislature to procure the repeal of a law incorporating the Lexington Insurance Office. He was opposed at every step by Mr. Clay; and the war of words between the youthful debaters drew to the hall of the House throngs of spectators. Grundy had managed to secure beforehand a majority in his favor in the House; but the members of the Senate flocked in to hear Clay speak, and so cogently did he present the impolicy and unconstitutionality of the measure under discussion, that they refused to sanction it after it had been passed by the other branch—and a virtual triumph was thus obtained.

It is recorded of Mr. Clay, that in the course of the legislative session of 1805, he made an effort to procure the removal of the seat of government from Frankfort; and his speech on the occasion is said to have been an inimitable specimen of argument and humor. Frankfort is peculiar in its appearance and situation, being sunk, like a huge pit, below the surrounding country, and environed by rough and precipitous ledges, "We have," said Mr. Clay, "the model of an inverted hat.—Frankfort is the body of the hat, and the lands adjacent are the brim. To change the figure, it is *nature's great penitentiary*; and if the members of this House would know the bodily condition of the prisoners, let him look at those poor creatures in the gallery."

As he said this, he pointed with his finger to half a dozen figures that chanced, at that moment, to be moving about in the gallery, more like animated skeletons than respectable compounds of flesh and blood.—The objects thus designated, seeing the attention of the whole assembly

suddenly directed towards them, dodged, with ludicrous haste, behind the railing, and the assembly was thrown into a convulsion of merriment. This *argumentum ad hominem* proved irresistible. The members of the House agreed that it was expedient to remove the seat of government, but it was subsequently found impossible to agree upon a new location, and the Legislature continues to hold its sessions at Frankfort.

It was an early resolution of Mr. Clay, that no litigant, rich or poor, should have occasion to say that, for the want of counsel he could not obtain justice at every bar where Mr. C. could appear for him. Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, at that time United States District Attorney, and a man of influence and distinction, had committed an assault and battery at Frankfort on Mr. Bush, a respectable citizen, and a tavern-keeper at that place. The bar at Frankfort declined instituting an action for the latter against Col. D. He appealed to Henry Clay, who promptly undertook the case, and brought the suit in Lexington. In the argument of a preliminary question, Mr. Clay felt it his duty to animadvert, with some severity, upon the conduct of Col. D., who, after the adjournment of the court, addressed a note to him, remonstrating against his course, and expressing a wish that it should not be persevered in. Mr. Clay immediately replied, that he had undertaken the cause of Mr. Bush from a sense of duty; that he should submit to no dictation as to the management of it, which should be according to his own judgment exclusively; but that he should hold himself responsible for whatever he did or said, in or out of court. A challenge ensued. Mr. Clay accepted it, and proceeded to Frankfort for the hostile meeting to which he had been invited. There, by the interposition of mutual friends, the affair was accommodated in a manner honorable to both parties.

In the autumn of 1806, the celebrated Aaron Burr was arrested in Kentucky, on a charge of being engaged in an illegal warlike enterprise. The sagacity of this extraordinary man was indicated in his application to Mr. Clay to defend him. Mr. Clay believed, and it was generally believed in Kentucky, that the prosecution was groundless, and was instituted by Col. Daviess, whom we have already mentioned, who was a great admirer of Col. Hamilton, and who disliked Burr because he had killed Hamilton in a duel, and was, moreover, opposite in politics. Mr. Clay felt a lively sympathy for Col. Burr, on account of his being arrested in a State distant from his own, on account of his misfortunes, and the distinguished stations he had filled. Still he declined appearing for him, until Burr gave him written assurances that he was engaged in no enterprise forbidden by law, and none that was not known and approved by the Cabinet at Washington. On receiving these assurances Mr. Clay appeared for him; and thinking that Burr ought not to be dealt with as an ordinary culprit, he declined receiving from him any fee, although a liberal one was tendered.

Burr was acquitted. Mr. Clay shortly after proceeded to Washington and received from Mr. Jefferson an account of the letter in cipher, which had been written by Burr to General Wilkinson, and other in-

formation of the criminal designs of Burr. Mr. Clay handed the assurances above mentioned to Mr. Jefferson at the request of the latter.

On his return from Ghent, Mr. Clay made a brief sojourn in the city of New York, and, among other places of interest, visited the Federal Court then in session, escorted by his friend, the late Mr. Smith, then Marshall, formerly Senator from New York. On entering the courtroom, in the City Hall, the eyes of the bench, bar, officers and attendants upon the court, were turned upon Mr. C. who was invited to take a seat on the bench, which he politely declined, and took a position in the bar. Shortly after a small gentleman, apparently advanced in years, and with bushy gray hair, whom Mr. Clay for an instant did not recognize, approached him. He quickly perceived it was Col. Burr, who tendered his hand to salute Mr. Clay. The latter declined receiving it. The Colonel, nevertheless, was not repulsed, but engaged in conversation with Mr. Clay, remarking, that he had understood that, besides the treaty of peace, the American Commissioners had negotiated a good commercial convention with Great Britain. Mr. Clay replied coldly, that such a convention was concluded, and that its terms would be known as soon as it was promulgated by public authority. Col. B. expressed a wish to have an hour's interview with him, and Mr. C. told him where he he stopped—but the Colonel never called.

CHAPTER III.

Elected to the Senate of the United States—His first speech in favor of Internal Improvement—Is chosen speaker of the Kentucky House of Assembly—Duel with Humphrey Marshall—His sentiments in regard to duelling—Takes his seat a second time in the United States Senate—Speaks in behalf of domestic manufactures—Lays the foundation of the American system—The United States Bank—He becomes a member of the United States House of Representatives—Is chosen Speaker on the first ballot—Critical state of public affairs—Is in favor of a war with great Britain—Speech on the bill for raising troops—On a Naval establishment—Carries his measures—Our naval successes.

ON the twenty ninth of December, 1806, Mr. Clay, then in his twenty-ninth year produced his credentials, and took his seat in the Senate, of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature of the State of Kentucky, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John Adair; and, from the journals of Congress, he seems to have entered at once, actively upon the discharge of the duties of his new and exalted position. His first speech was in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac river; and at this period we perceive the dawning of those views of "internal improvement," which he afterwards carried out so ably, and his advocacy of which would be alone sufficient to entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country. He amused the Senate on this occasion, by quoting a passage from Peter Pindar, as applicable to a Senator, by whom he had been assailed, and who was remarkable for the expression of superior sagacity, which his countenance was wont to assume when he rebuked the younger members of the body. The picture was apt and graphic:

"Thus have I seen a magpie in the street,
A chattering bird we often meet;
A bird for curiosity well known,
With head awry, and cunning eye,
Peep knowingly into a marrow-bone."

This speech was soon followed by his presentation of a resolution, advocating the expediency of appropriating a quantity of land towards the opening of the canal proposed to be cut at the rapids of the Ohio, on the Kentucky shore.

The subject of appropriations for internal improvements was at that time a novelty. So far as it related to the establishment of post roads, it had, it is true, been discussed in February, 1795; but no formal opinion of Congress was expressed, so as to be a precedent for future action.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Clay, Giles and Baldwin, was now appointed to consider the new resolution, and on the twenty-fourth of February, 1807, Mr. Clay made an able report to the Senate, in which

we find the following passage: "How far it is the policy of the Government to aid in works of this kind, when it has no distinct interest; whether, indeed, in such a case, it has the constitutional power of patronage and encouragement, it is not necessary to be decided in the present instance." A few days afterward, he reported a bill providing for the appointment of Commissioners to ascertain the practicability of removing the obstruction in the navigation of the Ohio at the Rapids. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of eighteen to eight.

Mr. Clay's election to the Senate of the United States had been but for the fraction of a term, amounting to a single session. In the summer of 1806, he was again chosen by the citizens of Fayette to represent them in the Kentucky legislature; and at the next session he was elected Speaker of the Assembly. In this position he did not content himself with faithfully discharging the ordinary duties of a Speaker. He entered the arena of debate, and took an active part in most of the important discussions before the House. A motion having been made to prohibit the reading in the courts of Kentucky of any British decision, or elementary work on law, he opposed it with a vigor and eloquence, that did not fail of effect. More than four-fifths of the members of the House had evinced a determination to vote for the motion. It was argued that the Americans, as an independent people, ought not to suffer themselves to be governed, in the administration of justice, by the legal decisions of a foreign power. Mr. Clay had to contend against a most formidable array of popular prejudice. To obviate one of the most potent arguments of the friends of the motion, he moved to amend, it by limiting the exclusion of British decisions from Kentucky, to those only, which have taken place since the fourth of July, 1776, the date of American Independence, and suffering all, which preceded that period, to remain in force. He maintained that before the declaration of our independence, the British and Americans were the same nation; and the laws of the one people were those of the other. He then entered upon one of the most eloquent harangues, that ever fell from his lips. He exposed the barbarity of a measure, which would annihilate, for all practical uses in the State, the great body of the common law—which would "wantonly make wreck of a system fraught with the intellectual wealth of centuries, and whelm its last fragment beneath the wave."

Those who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Clay on this occasion describe his speech as one of transcendent power, beauty and pathos. As he swayed the passions of his hearers, they might be seen now curling their lips with scorn, now unconscious of their streaming tears, and anon with countenances lit with smiles. A gentleman, who was a partaker in the effect produced by his eloquence, says: "Every muscle of the orators face was in motion; His whole body seemed agitated as if every part were instinct with a separate life; and his small, white hand, with its blue veins apparently distended almost to bursting, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture. The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a pure intellect wrought up to its mightiest energies, and brightly glowing through the thin and

It is almost needless to add, that Mr. Clay prevailed on this occasion in turning the tide in his favor; and the original motion was rejected.

A report drawn up by him in 1809 upon a question of disputed election is worthy of notice in this place. The citizens of Hardin county, who were entitled to two Representatives in the general Assembly, had given 436 votes for Charles Helin, 360 for Samuel Haycraft, and 271 for John Thomas. The fact being ascertained, that Mr. Haycraft held an office of profit under the commonwealth, at the time of the election, a constitutional disqualification attached and excluded him, he was ineligible, and therefore could not be entitled to his seat. It remained to inquire into the pretensions of Mr. Thomas. His claim could only be supported by a total rejection of the votes given to Mr. Haycraft, as void to all intents whatever. Mr. Clay contended that those votes though void and ineffectual in creating any right in Mr. Haycraft to a seat in the house, could not affect, in any manner, the situation of his competitor. Any other exposition would be subversive of the great principle of free government, that the majority shall prevail. It would operate as a deception on the people; for it could not be doubted that the votes given to Mr. Haycraft were bestowed under a full persuasion, that he had a right to receive them. It would, in fact, be a declaration, that disqualification produced qualification—that the incapacity of one man capacitated another to hold a seat in the house. The committee, therefore, unanimously decided that neither of the gentlemen were entitled to a seat.

Such were the principles of Mr. Clay's report. It was unanimously adopted by the house, and its doctrines have ever since governed the Kentucky elections.

While a member of the state legislature, Mr. Clay introduced a resolution recommending that every member, for the purpose of encouraging the industry of the country, should clothe himself in garments of domestic manufacture. This resolution was at once most emphatically denounced by Mr. Humphrey Marshall, who stigmatized it as the project of a demagogue, and applied a profusion of harsh and ungenerous epithets to the mover. Mr. Clay retorted, and the quarrel went on until it terminated in a hostile encounter. The parties met, and by the first shot Mr. Marshall was slightly wounded. They stood up a second time, and Mr. Clay received a hardly perceptible flesh wound in the leg. The seconds now interfered and prevented a continuance of the combat.

Much as Mr. Clay may have regretted this quarrel, a grateful people should not lose sight of the cause. It sprang from his enthusiasm in behalf of a system of protection for American Industry and labor. Throughout his long and active public career he has been the consistent advocate of that system—its originator and its most efficient supporter. To him the American artizan is indebted for every measure of legislative protection and encouragement, of which the object has been the elevation of the condition of the mechanic classes of our own country by shutting out the ruinous competition of the ill-paid and poorly-fed laborers of European manufacturing nations.

Mr. Clay was once again called upon in the course of his political career, by the barbarous exactions of society, to consent to a hostile encounter; but we are confident that no man abominates the custom more sincerely than himself. The following passage in relation to this subject occurs in an address, which, in his maturer years, he made to his constituents: "I owe it to the community to say, that whatever heretofore I may have done, or by inevitable circumstances might be forced to do, no man in it holds in deeper abhorrence than I do that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgement and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man, it is an affair of feeling about which we cannot, although we should, reason. Its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, in its unqualified proscription."

When the bill to suppress duelling in the District of Columbia came before the Senate of the United States in the Spring of 1838, Mr. Clay said, no man would be happier than himself to see the whole barbarous system forever eradicated. It was well known, that in certain quarters of the country, public opinion was averse from duelling, and no man could fly in the face of that public opinion, without having his reputation sacrificed; but there were other portions again which exacted obedience to the fatal custom. The man with a high sense of honor, and nice sensibility, when the question is whether he shall fight or have the finger of scorn pointed at him, is unable to resist, and few very few are found willing to adopt such an alternative. When public opinion was renovated and chastened by reason, religion and humanity, the practice of duelling would at once be discountenanced. It was the office of legislation to do all it could to bring about that healthful state of the public mind, and although it might not altogether effect so desirable a result yet he had no doubt it would do much towards it, and with these views, he would give his vote for the bill.

In the winter session of Congress in 1809 10, Mr. Clay took his seat a second time in the Senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature by a handsome majority to supply a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Buckner Thruston, whose term wanted two years of its completion. From this period the public history of Mr. Clay may be found diffused through the annals of the Union. The archives of the republic are the sources from which the materials for his biography may be henceforth derived. When time shall have removed the inducements for interested praise or censure, posterity will point to the records of his civic achievements, glorious though bloodless, no less as furnishing a well established title to their admiration and gratitude than as an eternal monument of his fame.

The predilections which Mr. Clay had early manifested in behalf of American manufactures and American principles, were unequivocally avowed in his first speech before the Senate on being elected a second time to that body as far back as April, 1810. A bill was under discussion, appropriating a sum of money for procuring munitions of war, and for other purposes; and an amendment had been proposed, instructing the Secretary of the Navy, to provide supplies of cordage, sail-cloth, hemp, &c., and to give a preference to those of American

growth and manufacture. Mr. Lloyd of Massachusetts moved to strike out this part of the amendment; and a discussion arose concerning the general policy of promoting domestic manufactures, in which Mr. Clay boldly declared himself its advocate.

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The twentieth of April succeeding on motion of Mr. Clay, the bill to enable the people of the Orleans Territory, now Louisiana, to form a constitution and government was amended by a provision requiring that the laws, records and legislative proceedings of the State should be in the English language. On the 27th of the same month he had leave of absence for the rest of the session, after accomplishing an amount of public business that few men could have despatched with so much promptitude, ability and advantage to the country.

The third session of the eleventh Congress commenced the third of December, 1810. Mr. Clay was once more in his seat in the Senate.

The subject of renewing the charter of the United States Bank was now the great topic before Congress. Mr. Clay had been instructed by the legislature of Kentucky to oppose a re-charter; and his own convictions at the time accorded with theirs. He addressed the Senate at some length in opposition to the proposed measure. He lived to rectify his opinions on this important question; and his reasons for the change must be satisfactory to every candid mind. They are given in an address to his constituents in Lexington, dated the third of June, 1816.

In a speech to the same constituents delivered the ninth of June, 1842, he alludes to the subject in these terms: "I never but once changed my opinion on any great principle of construction of the National constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the Federal Constitution, which had been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison in his memorable report to the Virginia legislature, and to them, as I understood them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the Senate of the United States, to recharter the first Bank of the United States thirty years ago, I opposed the recharter upon convictions which I honestly entertained. The experience of the war, which shortly followed, the condition into which the currency of the country was thrown, without a bank, and, I may now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents in a speech at Lexington, (that which I had made in the House of Representatives not having been reported) my reasons for that change, and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged now and hereafter by their validity.

I do not advert to the fact of this solitary instance of change of opinion as implying any personal merit, but because it is a fact. I will, however, say that I think it very perilous to the utility of any public man to make frequent changes of opinion, or any change, but upon grounds so sufficient and palpable that the public can clearly see and approve them."

Many important subjects were discussed by the Senate during the

session of 1810-11; and Mr. Clay was in all of them conspicuous. His zeal and efficiency in the public service began to attract the eyes of the whole country. He was not the representative of Kentucky alone. His capacious heart and active mind, uncontracted by sectional jealousies or local bigotry, comprehended the entire Union in their embrace.

At the expiration of his second fractional term of service in the Senate of the United States, having returned to Kentucky, he was elected a member of the federal House of Representatives. Congress convened on the day designated by proclamation, the fourth day of November 1811; and, on the first ballot for speaker, 128 members being present, he was chosen by a majority of thirty-one over all opposition.

The affairs of the nation were never in a more critical position than at this juncture. The honor of the republic was at stake. A long series of outrages perpetrated against our commerce by England and by France had reached a height, at which farther toleration would have been pusillanimous. Under the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, our ships were seized and our property confiscated by the French in a manner to provoke the warmest indignation of a free people. Great Britain vied with France, and finally far surpassed her in acts of violence and rapine towards us. Each of the belligerents sought a pretext in the conduct of the other for her own injustice.

At length France, in answer to our remonstrances repealed her odious decrees so far as we were concerned, and practically abandoned her system of seizure and oppression. Great Britain did not follow her example.

A year had elapsed since the French decrees were rescinded; but Great Britain persisted in her course; affecting to deny their extinction. The ships of the U. States laden with the produce of our soil and labor, navigated by our own citizens and peaceably pursuing a lawful trade were seized on our own coasts, and, at the very mouth of our own harbors, condemned and confiscated. But it was the ruffianly system of impressment—by which American freemen, pursuing a lawful life of hardship and daring on the ocean, were liable to be seized in violation of the rights of our flag, forced into the naval service of a foreign power, and made, perhaps, the instruments of similar oppression towards their own countrymen—it was this despotic and barbarous system, that principally roused the warlike spirit of Congress and the nation. And posterity will admit, that this cause of itself was an all sufficient justification for hostile measures. The spirit of that people must have been debased indeed, which could have tamely submitted to such aggressions.

The feelings of Mr. Clay on this subject seem to have been of the intensest description. Though coming from a State distant from the sea-board, the wrongs and indignities practiced against our mariners by British arrogance and oppression, fired his soul and stirred his whole nature to resistance. To him the idea of succumbing a moment to such degrading outrages was intolerable. The nation had been injured and insulted. England persisted in her injuries and insults. It was useless to temporise longer. He was for war, prompt, open and deter-

mined war. He communicated to others the electric feeling that animated his own breast. He wreaked all his energies on this great cause.

In appointing the committee on Foreign Relations, to whom the important question was to be referred, he was careful to select a majority of such members as partook of his own decided views. Peter B. Porter, of New York, was the chairman; and on the 29th of November, he made a report, in which the committee earnestly recommended, in the words of the President, "that the United States be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." They submitted appropriate resolutions for the carrying out of this great object.

On the first day of December, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Breackenridge in the chair, on a bill from the Senate, providing for the raising of twenty-five thousand troops. Of this measure, Mr. Clay was the warmest, and at the same time, most judicious advocate; addressing the House eloquently in its favor.

He contended that the real cause of British aggression was not to distress France, as many maintained, but to destroy a rival. "She saw," continued he, "in your numberless ships, which whitened every sea—in your hundred and twenty gallant tars—the seeds of a naval force, which in thirty years would rival her on her elements. *She therefore commenced the odious system of impressment, of which no language can paint my execration!* *She DARED to attempt the subversion of the personal freedom of your mariners!*"

In concluding, Mr. Clay said, he trusted that he had fully established these three positions. That the quantum of force proposed by the bill was not too great; that its nature was such as the contemplated war called for; and the object of the war was justified by every consideration of justice, of interest, of honor or love of country. Unless that object were at once attained by peaceful means, he hoped that war would be waged before the close of the session.

The bill passed the House on the fourth of January succeeding; and on the twenty-second of the same month, the report of the committee, to whom that part of the President's Message relating to a naval establishment was referred, being under discussion, Mr. Clay spoke in favor of an increase of the navy, advocating the building of ten frigates.

In his remarks on this occasion he contended, that a description of naval force entirely within our means was that, which would be sufficient to prevent any single vessel, of whatever metal, from endangering our whole coasting trade—blocking up our harbors, and laying under contribution our cities—a force competent to punish the insolence of the commander of any single ship, and to preserve in our own jurisdiction the inviolability of our peace and our laws.

"Is there," he asked, "a reflecting man in the nation, who would not charge Congress with a culpable neglect of its duty, if, for the want of such a force, a single ship were to bombard one of our cities? Would not every honorable member of the committee inflict on himself the bitterest reproaches, if, by failing to make an inconsiderable addition to

our little gallant navy. a single British vessel should place New York under contribution!"

On the 29th of January, 1812, the bill to increase the Navy passed the House by a handsome majority. To Mr. Clay's eloquent advocacy of the measure, the country is largely indebted for the glorious naval successes, which afterward shed a new and undying lustre upon our history. But for the gallant and effective navy, which sprang up under such auspices, the main arm of our defence would have been crippled. While we contemplate with our achievements upon the sea—the memorable deeds of our Lawrences, Decatur, Hulls, Bainbridges, and Perrys,—let us not forget the statesman, but for whose provident sagacity and intrepid spirit, the opportunity of performing those exploits would never have been afforded.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Clay prefers a seat in the House to one in the Senate—Reasons for making him Speaker—His intercourse with Mr. Randolph—War declared—Madison re-elected President—Mr. Clay resigns the Speaker's chair, being appointed Commissioner to Ghent—His service during the War.

THE cause of Mr. Clay's transference from the Senate to the House of Representatives was his own preference, at the time, of a seat in the popular branch. His immediate appointment of speaker was, under the circumstances, a rare honor, and one never, before or since, conferred on a new member. Among the qualifications which led to his selection for that high station was his known firmness, which would check any attempt to domineer over the House; and many members had a special view to a proper restraint upon Mr. John Randolph of Virginia, who, through the fears of Mr. Varnum, and the partiality entertained for him by Mr. Macon, the two preceding speakers, had exercised a control, which it was believed, was injurious to the deliberations of the body.

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On assuming the duties of the Speakership, Mr. Clay had foreseen, from the peculiar character and constitution of mind of that remarkable and distinguished man, John Randolph, that it would be extremely difficult to maintain with him relations of civility and amity. He therefore resolved to act on the principle of never giving and never receiving and insult without immediate notice, if he were in a place where it could be noticed. Their intercourse or non-intercourse was most singular. Sometimes weeks, months would pass without their speaking to each other. Then for an equal space of time, no two gentlemen could treat each other with more courtesy and attention.—Mr. Randolph, on entering the House in the morning, while these better feelings prevailed, would frequently approach the chair, bow respectfully to the Speaker, and inquire into health.

Mr. Randolph was impatient of all restraints, and could not brook those, which were sometimes applied to himself by the Speaker in the discharge of the duties of the chair. On one occasion he appealed to his constituents; and was answered by Mr. Clay. The case was this: Mr. Clay, in one of his morning rides, passed through Georgetown, where Mr. Randolph, the late Mr. J. Lewis of Virginia, and other members of Congress boarded. Meeting with Mr. Lewis, that gentleman inquired of him, if there were any news? Mr. Clay informed him, that on the Monday following President Madison would send a message to Congress, recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain.

The day after this meeting, Mr. Randolph came to the House, and

having addressed the Speaker in a very rambling, desultory speech for about an hour, he was reminded from the chair, that there was no question pending before the House. Mr. Randolph said he would present one. He was requested to state it. He stated that he meant to move a resolution, that "it was not expedient to declare war against Great Britain." The Speaker, according to a rule of the House, desired him to reduce his resolution to writing, and to send it to the chair; which he accordingly did. And thereupon the Speaker informed him that before he could proceed in his speech, the House must decide that it would now consider his resolution. Upon putting that question to the House, it was decided by a large majority, that it would not consider the resolution; and thus Mr. Randolph was prevented from haranguing the House farther in its support. Of this he complained, and published an address to his constituents.

Some expressions in this address seeming to require notice, Mr. Clay addressed a communication under his own name, bearing date June 17th, 1843, to the editor of the *National Intelligencer*, in which he reviews the questions at issue between him and Mr. Randolph, and vindicates the justice of his recent decisions in the chair.

"Two principles," he says, "are settled by these decisions; the first is, that the House has a right to know, through its organ, the specific motion which a member intends making, before he undertakes to argue it at large; and in the second place, that it reserves to itself the exercise of the power of determining whether it will consider it at the particular time when offered, prior to his thus proceeding to argue it."

Every succeeding Congress has acquiesced in the principles thus established by Mr. Clay. They seem essential to the abridgment of the latitude of debate within bonds, which shall not be so undefined that the public interests will suffer.

A bill from the Committee on Foreign Relations was reported to the House on the third of June, 1812, declaring *war between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States*. On the eighteenth it had passed both Houses of Congress; and the next day the President's proclamation was issued, declaring the actual existence of war. On the sixth of July, Congress adjourned to the first Monday in November.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Cheves, and Mr. Calhoun, were the leaders, who sustained and carried through the declaration of war. Mr. Clay, fully impressed with the conviction, that the honor and the highest interests of the country demanded the declaration, was ardent, active and enthusiastic in its support. To him was assigned the responsible duty of appointing all the Committees. Mr. Madison's Cabinet was not unanimous on the subject of war. Mr. Madison himself was in favor of it, but seemed to go into it with much repugnance and great apprehension. The character of his mind was one of extreme caution, bordering on timidity, although he acted with vigor and firmness when his resolution was once taken. Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, was adverse to the war.

The second session of the twelfth Congress took place at the appointed time. Events of an important character had occurred since it last met. The war had been prosecuted; and we had sustained some reverses. General Hull, to whom had been assigned the defence of the Michigan frontier, had, after an unsuccessful incursion into the neighboring territory of the enemy, surrendered ingloriously the town and fort of Detroit.

An attack made on the post of the enemy near Niagara, by a detachment of regular and other forces under Major General Van Rensselaer, and after displaying much gallantry had been compelled to yield, with considerable loss, to reinforcements of Savages and British regulars.

But though partially unsuccessful on the land, the Americans had won imperishable trophies on the sea. Our public ships and private cruisers had made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. The frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Hull, after a close and short engagement, had completely disabled the British frigate *Guerriere*. A vast amount of property had been saved to the country by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates under the command of Commodore Rodgers.

On the 10th of February, the President of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, proceeded to open the certificates of the electors of the several States for President and Vice President of the United States. The vote stood: For President, JAMES MADISON, 128—DEWITT CLINTON, 89. For Vice President, Elbridge Gerry, 131—Jared Ingersoll, 86. James Madison and Elbridge Gerry were accordingly elected—the former for a second term. The war policy of the administration was triumphantly sustained by the people.

The first session of the thirteenth Congress commenced the twenty-fourth of May, 1813. Mr. Clay was again chosen Speaker by a large majority; and his voice of exhortation and encouragement continued to be raised in committee of the whole in vindication of the honor of the country and the conduct of the war. On the 19th of January, 1814, in an appropriate address, he resigned his station as Speaker of the House—having been appointed a commissioner to proceed to Gottingen, for the purpose of negotiating a peace with Great Britain. The same day a resolution was passed by the House thanking him for the ability and impartiality with which he had presided. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously—only nine members voting in opposition.

Mr. Clay had always asserted that an honorable peace was attainable only by an efficient war. In Congress he had been the originator and most ardent supporter of nearly all those measures, which had for their object the vigorous prosecution of hostilities against Great Britain. On every occasion his trumpet-voice was heard, cheering on the House and the country to confidence and to victory. No auguries of villany—no croakings of despondency—no suggestions of timidity—no violence of Federal opposition could for a moment shake his patriotic purposes,

diminish his reliance on the justness of our cause, or induce him to hesitate in that policy, which he believed the honor and—what was inseparable from the honor—the interests, of the country demanded.

The measure of gratitude due him from his fellow-citizens, for his exertions in this cause alone, is not to be calculated or paid. But in that scroll where Freedom inscribes the names of her worthiest champions, destined to an immortal renown in her annals, the name of HENRY CLAY will be found with those of Washington, Jefferson and Madison.

Having been the most efficient agent in directing the legislative action, which declared and conducted the war with Great Britain—a war, which the voice of an impartial posterity now admits to have elevated and strengthened us as a nation—Mr. Clay was appropriately selected as one of the commissioners to execute a treaty of peace. Messrs. J. Q. Adams, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin and Jonathan Russell were associated with him in this task. On the part of the British, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulborne and William Adams were appointed.

CHAPTER V.

Meeting of the Ghent Commissioners—Mr. Clay visits Brussels—Anecdote—Controversy between Messrs. Adams and Russell—Mr. Clay's letter—Goes to Paris—is introduced to the Duke of Wellington by Madame de Stael—Hears of New Orleans—Visits England—Waterloo and Napoleon—Mr. Clay's reception in England—Declines going to court—Sir James Mackintosh—Lord Gambier, &c.—Mr. Clay's return to New York—Reception—Re-elected to Congress—Vindication of the war—Internal Improvements—His country, his whole country.

THE commissioners met first at Gottingen, but their meetings were afterward transferred to Ghent. The conferences occupied a space of time of about five months.—The American Commissioners were in reality negotiating with the whole British ministry; for, whenever they addressed a diplomatic note of any importance to the British commissioners, it was by them transmitted to London, from which place the substance of an answer was returned in the form of instructions. The consequence was, that the American commissioners, after having delivered a diplomatic note, had to wait about a week before they received a reply.

In one of these pauses of the negotiation, Mr. Clay made a little excursion to Brussels, and Mr. Goulborne was there at the same time. The British commissioners had been in the habit of sending their English newspapers to the American commissioners, through which the latter often derived the first intelligence of events occurring in America.

The morning after Mr. Clay's arrival in Brussels, upon his coming down to breakfast, his servant Frederick Cara, whom he had taken with him from the city of Washington, threw some papers upon the breakfast table, and burst into tears. "What's the matter Frederick?" "The British have taken Washington, and Mr. Goulborne has sent you those papers, which contain the account." "Is it possible?" exclaimed Mr. Clay; and Frederick blubbered still louder, and said it was too true.

A controversy having arisen between Messrs. Adams and Russell, about the year 1823, in respect to some points in the negotiations at Ghent, an embittered correspondence took place between these two gentlemen. In the course of it Mr. Clay thought that there were some unintentional errors on the part of Mr. Adams, which in a note addressed to the public, Mr. Clay stated he would at some future day correct. About the year 1828 or 1829, Mr. Russell without the previous consent of Mr. Clay, published a confidential letter addressed by Mr. Clay to him, in which Mr. C. expresses his condemnation of Mr. Russell's course in the alteration of some of his letters, which had been charged and proved upon him by Mr. Adams. In that same letter, Mr.

Clay gives his explanation of some of the transactions at Ghent, respecting which, he thought Mr. Adams was mistaken. The publication of the confidential letter superseded the necessity of making the corrections which Mr. C. had intended. In this letter, Mr. Clay in no instance impugns the motives of Mr. Adams, nor does it contain a line from which an unfriendly state of feeling on the part of the writer toward Mr. Adams could be inferred.

Mr Clay was resolved, such was his proud spirit, not to go to England until he had heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent. After the termination of the negotiations he went to Paris, and accepted the invitation of Mr. Crawford, our minister, to take apartments in the hotel. Mr. Clay remained in Paris during upward of two months. On the night of his arrival in that brilliant metropolis, he found at Mr. Crawford's an invitation to a ball given by the American banker, Mr. Hottinguer, on the occasion of the pacification between the United States and Great Britain. There he met for the first time the celebrated Madame de Stael, was introduced to her, and had with her a good deal of conversation.

"Ah!" said she, "Mr. Clay, I have been in England, and have been battling your cause for you there." "I know it, Madame; we heard of your powerful interposition, and we are grateful and thankful for it."—"They were very much enraged against you," said she; "so much so that they, at one time, thought seriously of sending the Duke of Wellington to command their armies against you!"—"I am very sorry, Madame," replied Mr. Clay, "that they did not send his Grace." "Why?" asked she surprised.—"Because, Madame, if he had beaten us, we should only have been in the condition of Europe, without disgrace. But if we had been so fortunate as to defeat him, we should have greatly added to the renown of our arms."

The next time he met Madame de Stael was at a party at her own house, which was attended by the Marshals of France, the Duke of Wellington, and other distinguished persons. She introduced Mr. Clay to the Duke and at the same time related the above anecdote. He replied with promptness and politeness, that if he had been sent on that service, and had been so fortunate as to have been successful over a foe as gallant as the Americans, he would have regarded it as the proudest feather in his cap.

During his stay in Paris, Mr. Clay heard of the issue of the battle of New Orleans. "Now" said he to his informant, "I can go to England without mortification." But he expressed himself greatly mortified at the inglorious flight *attributed*, in the despatches of the American General, to a portion of the Kentucky militia, which Mr. Clay pronounced must be a mistake.

Having heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, Mr. Clay left Paris for England, in March, 1815, just before the arrival of Bonaparte in the French capital. About the same time, Louis the Eighteenth left Paris and took up his residence in Ghent, near the hotel which the American commissioners had recently occupied. Mr. C. did not see

Napolean. He would have remained for that purpose, but that he did not suppose the Emperor would reach Paris so soon.

On his arrival in England before any of the American commissioners, Mr. Clay had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who contracted for him a high esteem, which was frequently manifested during his sojourn in England. Lord Castlereagh offered to present him to the Prince Regent. Mr. C. said he would go through the ceremony if it were deemed necessary or respectful. Lord C. said that having been recognised in his public character by the British government, it was not necessary, and that he might omit it or not as he pleased. Mr. Clay's repugnance to the parade of courts prevented his presentation, and he never saw the Prince. He, however, met with most of the other members of the Royal family.

Mr. Clay was in London when the battle of Waterloo was fought, and witnessed the illuminations, bonfires, and rejoicings to which it gave rise. For a day or two after intelligence of the event reached London, there was great uncertainty as to what had become of Napoleon. During this interval, Mr. Clay dined with Lord Castlereagh. The British ministers and the American commissioners were present. Among the topics of conversation, was that of whither had Napoleon gone.—Some supposed he had sailed for America. "If he goes there," said Lord Liverpool, "will he not give you, Mr. Clay, much trouble?"—"None, whatever," promptly replied Mr. Clay; "we shall be glad to receive such a distinguished though unfortunate exile, *and we shall soon make a good Democrat of him.*"

Mr. Clay was received in the British circles, and in those of both the ministry and the opposition, with the most friendly consideration. The late Sir James Mackintosh was one of his first acquaintances in London; and of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly and his beautiful and accomplished lady, Mr. Clay has been heard to remark, that they presented one of the finest specimens of a happy man and wife that he had ever seen. He past a most agreeable week with his Ghent friend, Lord Gambier, at Iver Grove near Windsor Castle. Of this pious and excellent nobleman, Mr. Clay has ever retained a lively and friendly recollection. He visited with him Windsor Castle, Frogmore Lodge, the residence of the descendant of William Penn, and saw the wife of George the Third and some of the daughters.

In September, 1815, Mr. Clay returned from Europe to New York, at which port he had embarked in March, 1814. A public dinner was given to him and Mr. Gallatin in that city soon after his arrival. Mr. Clay has received the compliment of more public dinners, perhaps, than any man living.

Before his return home he had been unanimously re-elected a member of Congress from the district he formerly represented. Doubts arising as to the legality of this election, a new one was ordered, and the result was the same. His return was enthusiastically hailed by his numerous personal and political friends, and in Kentucky he was received with every demonstration of affection and respect. The board

of trustees of Lexington adopted a resolution of joy at his return and of gratitude for his services at Ghent.

At the commencement of the next session of Congress, Mr Clay was again elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, almost unanimously. Among other important subjects which came up, that of the new treaty was, of course among the foremost. John Randolph and the Federalists, after having resisted the war, now took frequent occasion to sneer at the mode of its termination. On the twenty-ninth of January, 1816, Mr. Clay addressed the committee of the House most eloquently in reply to these caviliers.

"I gave a vote," said he, "for the declaration of war. I exerted all the little influence and talents I could command to make the war. The war was made. It is terminated. And I declare with perfect sincerity if it had been permitted to lift the veil of futurity, and to have foreseen the precise series of events which has occurred, my vote would have been unchanged. We had been insulted, and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe—by Great Britain, by France, Spain, Denmark, Naples, and to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers.

"We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scorn of foreign powers, and the derision of our own citizens."

It had been objected by the opposition that no provision had been made in the treaty in regard to the impressment of our seamen by the British. On this subject Mr. Clay said, and in his argument is as conclusive as it is lofty: "One of the great cause of the war and of its continuance, was the the practice of impressment exercised by Great Britain—and if this claim had been admitted by necessary implication or express stipulation, the rights of our seamen would have been abandoned! It is with utter astonishment that I hear it has been contended in this country, that, because our right of exemption from the practice had not been expressly secured in the treaty, it was, therefore, given up! It is impossible that such an argument can be advanced on this floor. No member, who regarded his reputation, would venture to advance such a doctrine!"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay declared, on this occasion, that his policy, in regard to the attitude in which the country should now be placed, was to preserve the present force, naval and military—to provide for the augmentation of the navy—to fortify the weak and vulnerable points indicated by experience—to construct military roads and canals—and, in short, "*to commence the great work of internal improvement.*"

"I would see," he said, "a chain of turnpike roads and canals from Passamaquoddy to New Orleans; *and other similar roads intersecting the mountains, to facilitate intercourse between all parts of the country and to bind and connect us together.* I WOULD ALSO RESPECTFULLY PROTECT OUR MANUFACTORIES. I would afford them protection, not so much for the sake of the manufactures themselves as for the general interest."

It was in this patriotic spirit, and with this far-sighted, liberal, and

truly American policy, that Mr. Clay resumed his legislative labors in the national councils. He has lived to carry out those truly great and statesman-like measures of protection and internal improvement, which even then began to gather shape and impulse in a mind ever active in the cause of his country. May he live to receive a testimonial of that country's gratitude and admiration in the bestowal upon him of the highest honor within her gift!

CHAPTER VI.

Recharter of the United States Bank—Mr. Clay's views in 1811 and 1816—Scene in the House with Randolph—Mr. Clay's relations with Mr. Madison—Intention of Madison at one time to appoint him Commander-in-Chief of the army—Election of James Monroe—Mr. Clay carries his measures in behalf of the South American States—Letter from Bolivar and Mr. Clay's reply.

THE financial condition of the United States at the close of the war was extremely depressed. The currency was deranged—public credit impaired—and a heavy debt impending.

On the eighth of January, 1816, Mr. Calhoun from the committee on that part of the President's Message, which relates to the currency, reported a bill to incorporate subscribers to a bank of the United States.

It will be remembered that Mr. Clay in 1811, while a member of the Senate, had opposed the re chartering of the old bank. His reasons for now advocating the bill before the house have been fully and freely communicated to the public.

When the application was made to renew the old charter of the bank of the United States, such an institution did not appear to him to be so necessary to the fulfilment of any of the objects specifically enumerated in the Constitution as to justify Congress in assuming, by construction, power to establish it. It was supported mainly upon the ground that it was indispensable to the treasury operations. But the local institutions in the several states were at that time in prosperous existence, confided in by the community, having confidence in one another, and maintaining an intercourse and connexion the most intimate. Many of them were actually employed by the treasury to aid that department in a part of its fiscal arrangements; and they appeared to him to be fully capable of affording to it all the facility that it ought to desire in all of them. They superseded in his judgement the necessity of a national institution.

But how stood the case in 1816, when he was called upon to examine the power of the general government to incorporate a national bank? A total change of circumstances was presented. Events of the utmost magnitude had intervened. A suspension of specie payments had taken place. The currency of the country was completely vitiated. The government issued paper bearing an interest of six per cent, which it pledged the faith of the country to redeem. For this paper, guaranteed by the honor and faith of the government, there was obtained for every one hundred dollars, eighty dollars from those banks which suspended their specie payments. The experience of the war therefore showed the necessity of a bank. The country could not get along

without it. Mr. Clay had then changed his opinion on the subject, and he had never attempted to disguise the fact. In his position of Speaker of the House, he might have locked up his opinion in his own breast. But with that candor and fearlessness, which have ever distinguished him, he had come forward, as honest men ought to come forward, and expressed his change of opinion, at the time when President Madison and other eminent men changed their course.

The constitution confers upon Congress the power to coin money and to regulate the value of foreign coins; and the States are prohibited to coin money, to emit bills of credit, or to make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts. The plain inference was, that the subject of the general currency was intended to be submitted exclusively to the general government. In point of fact, however, the regulation of the general currency was in the hands of the State governments, or, what was the same thing, of the banks created by them. Their paper had every quality of money, except that of being made a tender, and even this was imparted to it, by some states, in the law by which a creditor must receive it, or submit to a ruinous suspension of the payment of his debt.

It was incumbent upon Congress to recover the control which it had lost over the general currency. The remedy called for was one of caution and moderation, but of firmness. Whether a remedy, directly acting upon the banks and their paper thrown into circulation, was in the power of the general government or not, neither Congress nor the community were prepared for the application of such a remedy.

An indirect remedy of a milder character seemed to be furnished by a national bank. Going into operation with the powerful aid of the treasury of the United States, Mr. Clay believed it would be highly instrumental in the renewal of specie payments. Coupled with the other measure adopted by Congress for that object, he believed the remedy effectual. The local banks must follow the example, which the national bank would set them, of redeeming their notes by the payment of specie, or their notes would be discredited and put down.

If the constitution, then, warranted the establishment of a bank, other considerations, besides those already mentioned, strongly urged it. The want of a general medium was everywhere felt. Exchange varied continually, not only between different parts of the Union, but between different parts of the same city. If the paper of a national bank were not redeemed in specie, it would be much better than the current paper, since, although its value, in comparison with specie, might fluctuate, it would afford an uniform standard.

During this discussion of 1816, on the bank charter, a collision arose between Messrs. Clay and Randolph, which produced great sensation for the moment, and which it was apprehended might lead to serious consequences. Although Mr. Clay had changed his own opinion in regard to a bank, he did not feel authorized to seek, in private intercourse, to influence that of others, and observed a silence and reserve not usual to him, on the subject. Mr. Randolph commented on this fact, and used language which might bear an offensive interpretation. When he

was done, Mr. Clay rose with perfect coolness, but evidently with a firm determination, and adverting to the offensive language, observed that it required explanation, and that he should forbear saying what it became him to say until he heard the explanation, if any, which the member from Virginia had to make, and sat down. Mr. Randolph rose and made an explanation. Mr. Clay again rose, and said that the explanation was not satisfactory. Whereupon Mr. R. again got up, and disclaimed expressly all intentional offence.

During the transaction of this scene, the most intense anxiety and the most perfect stillness pervaded the House. You might have heard a pin fall in any part of it.

The new bank bill was passed, and the wisdom of its supporters may be best inferred from the fact that the institution more than realised the most sanguine hopes of its friends. During the period of its existence the United States enjoyed a currency of unexampled purity and uniformity; and the bills of the bank were as acceptable as silver in every quarter of the globe. In another part of this memoir will be found an outline of such a fiscal institution as Mr. Clay would be in favor of, *whenever a majority of the people of the United States might demand the establishment of a national bank.*

During the administration of Mr. Madison, Mr. Clay was, on two separate occasions, offered a seat in his Cabinet or the mission to Russia, by that distinguished chief magistrate. He declined them both. Mr. Madison appears to have had the highest estimate of his talents and worth. Indeed, so impressed was he with the eminent and versatile abilities of Mr. Clay, that he had selected him, at the commencement of the war, to be *Commander in Chief of the Army*. The nomination was not made solely because Mr. Clay could not be spared from Congress, where his powerful mind and paramount influence, enabled him to render services superior to any that could have been rendered in any other position.

On the fourth of March, 1817, James Monroe took the oath prescribed by the constitution, and entered upon the duties of the Presidency of the United States. The first session of the fifteenth Congress commenced the ensuing December. Mr. Clay was again chosen Speaker.

During the preceding summer the President had appointed Messrs. Rodney, Graham, and Bland, Commissioners to proceed to South America, to ascertain the condition of the country. In March 1818, the appropriation bill being before the House, Mr. Clay objected to the clause appropriating \$30,000 for their compensation. He then offered an amendment, appropriating eighteen thousand dollars as the outfit and one year's salary of a minister, to be deputed from the United States to the independent provinces of the river La Plata, in South America. The amendment was lost; but Mr. Clay's speech in support of it was one of his most memorable efforts. Both Congress and the President were opposed to any recognition of the independence of the South American Colonists. In rising to promulgate views hostile

to theirs, Mr. Clay said, that much as he valued those friends, in and out of the House from whom he differed he could not hesitate when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming his judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and matured dictates of his own mind.

Mr. Clay maintained that an oppressed people were authorized whenever they could, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right. We must pass sentence of condemnation upon the founders of our liberty—say that they were rebels—traitors; and that they were, at that moment, betraying without competent powers, before we could condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our revolution was mainly directed against the more theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively but little; we had, in some respects, been kindly treated; but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw, in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose; they breasted the storm; they achieved our freedom. Spanish America for centuries had been doomed to an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she was more than justified.

On the eighth day of March, 1822, the President sent a message to the House of Representatives, recommending the recognition of South American independence. The recommendation was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which on the nineteenth of the same month, reported in favor of the recommendation, and of an appropriation to carry it into effect. The vote of recognition was finally passed on the twenty-eighth, with but a single dissenting voice.

The instrumentality of his appeals in cheering the patriots of South America, was most striking and decided. His memorable plea of March, 1813, was, as one of his most embittered adversaries has told us, read at the head of the South American armies, to exalt their enthusiasm in battle, and quicken the consummation of their triumphs.

The following letter from Bolivar, with Mr. Clay's reply, belongs to this period of his history:

Bogota, 21st November, 1827.

"Sir I cannot omit availing myself of the opportunity afforded me by the departure of Col. Walter, Charge d'Affairs of the United States, of taking the liberty of addressing your excellency. This desire has long been entertained by me, for the purpose of expressing my admiration of your excellency's brilliant talents and love of liberty. All America, Columbia, and myself owe your excellency our purest gratitude for the incomparable advice you have rendered to us by sustaining our course with a sublime enthusiasm. Accept, therefore, this sincere and cordial testimony, which I hasten to offer to your excellency, and to the government of the United States, who have so greatly contributed to the emancipation of your southern brethren.

"I have the honor to offer to your excellency my distinguished consideration.

"Your excellency's obedient servant,
"BOLIVAR."

The following is a characteristic extract from Mr. Clay's reply :

WASHINGTON, 27th October, 1828.

"Sir—It is very gratifying to me to be assured directly by your excellency, that the course which the government of the United States took on this memorable occasion, and my humble efforts, have excited the gratitude and commanded the approbation of your excellency. I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying, that the interest which was inspired in the arduous struggles of South America, arose principally from the hope, that, along with its independence, would be established free institutions, insuring all the blessings of civil liberty. To the accomplishment of that object we still anxiously look. We are aware that great difficulties oppose it, among which, not the least, is that which arises out of the existence of a large military force, raised for the purpose of resisting the power of Spain. Standing armies organized with the most patriotic intentions, are dangerous instruments. They devour the substance, debauch the morals, and too often destroy the liberties of a people. Nothing can be more perilous or unwise than to retain them after the necessity had ceased, which led their formation, especially if their numbers are disproportionate to the revenue of the state.

"But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, we had fondly cherished and still indulge the hope, that South America would add a new triumph to the cause of human liberty ; and, that Providence would bless her, as He had her northern sister, with the genius of some great and virtuous man, to conduct her securely through all her trials. We had even flattered ourselves, that we behold that genius in your excellency. But I should be unworthy of the consideration with which your excellency honors me, and deviate from the frankness which I have ever endeavored to practice, *if I did not, on this occasion, state that ambitious designs have been attributed by your enemies to your excellency, which have created in my mind great solicitude.* They have cited late events in Colombia as proofs of these designs. But slow in the withdrawal of confidence, which I have once given, I have been most unwilling to credit the unfavorable accounts which have from time to time reached me. I cannot allow myself to believe, that your excellency will abandon the bright and glorious path which lies plainly before you, for the bloody road passing over the liberties of human race, on which the vulgar crowd of tyrants and military despots have so often trodden. I will not doubt, that your excellency will, in due time, render a satisfactory explanation to Colombia and to the world, of the parts of your public conduct which have excited any distrust ; and that, preferring the true glory of our immortal Washington to the ignoble fame of the destroyers of liberty, you have formed the patriotic resolution of ultimately placing the freedom of Colombia upon a firm and sure foundation,

'That your efforts to that end may be crowned with complete success, I most fervently pray.

"I request that your excellency will accept assurances of my sincere wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

"H. CLAY."

The high and disinterested character of Mr. Clay's motives in his course towards the South American Republics, was forcibly displayed in this frank and open appeal to Bolivar. Had his object been to acquire influence and popularity among the people of those countries, he would hardly have addressed such plain sentiments and unpalatable truths to a chief, who was all powerful with them at that time. But in a cause where the freedom of any portion of mankind was implicated, Mr. Clay was never known to hesitate, to reckon his own interests, or to weigh the consequences to himself from an avowal of his opinions. On all subjects indeed he is far above disguise; and though he may sometimes incur the charge of indiscretion by his uncalculating candor and fearless translucency, the trait is one which claims for him our affection and confidence. Independent in his opinions as in his acts, no suggestion of selfinterest could ever interpose an obstacle to the bold and magnanimous utterance of the former, nor to the conscientious performance of the latter.

CHAPTER VII.

Internal Improvement—Mr. Monroe's constitutional objections—Mr. Clay replies to them—Discussion of Gen. Jackson's conduct in the Seminole Campaign—Mr. Clay's opinion of that chieftan in 1819—A prophetic glimpse—Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson—The Father of the American System—Bill to regulate duties &c.—Mr. Clay's speech in behalf of the protective policy—voice of the country—His unremitted exertions—Randolph's sarcasms—Anecdote.

We have seen that at an early period Mr. Clay was an advocate of the doctrine of internal improvement. His speech in Congress in 1806 had been in vindication of the policy authorizing the erection of a bridge across the Potomac river. In the passages, we have quoted from his speech of January 1816, he declared himself in favor not only of a system of international improvement but of protection to our manufactures.

It will be remembered that the bill appropriating for purposes of internal improvement the bonus, which was to be paid by the bank of the United States to the general government, after having been passed by Congress, had been returned by President Madison without his signature, in consequence of constitutional objections to the bill. Mr. Clay had been much surprised at this act, for Mr. Madison, in one of his messages, had said: "I particularly invite again the attention of Congress to the expediency of existing powers, and where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity."

Mr. Monroe in anticipation of the action of Congress, had expressed an opinion in his message, opposed to the right of Congress to establish a system of international improvement. Mr. Jefferson's authority was also cited to show that under the constitution roads and canals could not be constructed by the general government without the consent of the State or States through which they were to pass. Thus three successive Presidents had opposed the proposition.

Against this weight of precedent, Mr. Clay undertook to persuade Congress of their power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of military roads, post-roads and canals. A resolution embodying a clause to this effect came before the House in March, 1818; and he lent to it his unrelenting advocacy.

During the second session of the Fifteenth Congress, in January, 1819, the subject of Gen. Andrew Jackson's conduct in his celebrated

Florida campaign, came up for discussion. That chieftan, after subjecting the vanquished Indians to conditions the most cruel and impracticable, had hung two prisoners of war, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and concluded his series of outrages by lawlessly seizing the posts of St. Marks and Pensacola.

Committees of the Senate and of the House made reports reprobatory of his conduct; and resolutions were presented, containing four propositions: the first asserted the disapprobation of the House of the proceedings in the trial and execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The second contemplated the passage of a law to prevent the execution hereafter of any captive taken by the army, without the approbation of the President. The third proposition was expressive of the disapproval of the forcible seizure of the Spanish posts as contrary to orders, and in violation of the constitution. The fourth proposition was, that a law should pass to prohibit the march of the army of the United States, or any corps of it, into any foreign territory, without the previous authorization of Congress, except it were in fresh pursuit of a defeated enemy.

We shall not attempt an abstract of Mr. Clay's eloquent and argumentative speech, in support of these propositions; and far less disposed are we to repeat the painful history of the wrongs and usurpations perpetrated by General Jackson. It may be proper to state, however, that Mr. Clay, grateful for the public services of the general, treated him with a forbearance and kindness, which rendered the sincerity of his animadversions the more obvious. "With respect to the purity of his intentions," said Mr. Clay, "I am disposed to allow it in the most extensive degree. Of his *acts* it is my duty to speak with the freedom which belongs to my station."

The speaker then proceeded to expose in a most forcible point of view, the dangerous and arbitrary character of those acts, and the constitutional violations, of which General Jackson had been guilty. There are many passages in this speech, which when we regard them in connection with the subsequent presidential usurpations of the same military chieftan, seem truly like prophetic glimpses. Take, for example, the concluding paragraph.

"Gentlemen may bear down all opposition; they may even vote the General the public thanks; they may carry him triumphantly through this house. But, if they do, in my humble judgment, *it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination*—a triumph of the military over civil authority—a triumph over the powers of this house—a triumph over the constitution of the land. And I pray most devoutly to heaven that it may not prove, in its ultimate effects, a triumph over the liberties of the people."

Even at that distant day, Mr. Clay saw in the conduct of General Jackson the germ of those principles of action—of that spirit of insubordination—which dangerous as they were in a military commander, were not less pernicious and alarming in a civil chief magistrate. With his keen instinctive faculty of penetration, he discovered the despotic and impulsive character of the man. Every page of his speech on the Seminole campaign furnishes evidence of this fact.

How then, when the question was presented to him of deciding between the qualifications of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson for the Presidency of the United States—how could Henry Clay, as a consistent and honorable man, hesitate for a moment in his choice? And yet an amount of obloquy and vituperation, such as never before was heaped upon a public servant, has been lavished on him because of his refusing to vote for General Jackson on that occasion! Had he done so he would have been false to his past professions and convictions—false to conscience, to patriotism, and the plainest dictates of duty.

The resolutions of censure, being strenuously opposed by Mr. Monroe and his cabinet, were lost in the House by a small majority. The dispassionate judgement of posterity will inevitably accord with the views so eloquently expressed by Mr. Clay in regard to General Jackson's conduct in Florida.

We come now to that part of Mr. Clay's public history where he is to be identified with the protective policy, which has since built up such vast interests in the United States. In the opinion of a large portion of the people it is to his triumphant efforts in the cause of protection to American industry and skill, that Henry Clay will be indebted for his most enduring claims to the gratitude and approbation of his countrymen. We have seen that as far back as 1810 he laid the foundation-stone of that great and beneficent American system, of which he was the originator and the architect.

To specify and describe all his labors in the establishment and advancement of this noble policy, from that time to the period of his retirement from the Senate, would alone fill more space than we can give to his whole life. The journals of Congress and the political newspapers of the country for the last thirty years will be found to be occupied to no inconsiderable extent with the record of his efforts and arguments and untiring appeals. We can present but a very imperfect outline of his glorious though peaceful achievements in the cause of human industry, labor and prosperity.

On the twelfth day of March, 1816, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, from the Committee of Ways and Means introduced before the House a bill "to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage, &c." The bill was thoroughly discussed in committee of the whole; and through the exertions of Mr. Clay, a higher duty was adopted for the important article of woollens. The amendment however was unfortunately lost in the house; but the bill, such as it was, was passed.

In the spring of 1820, the subject of a tariff again came before Congress; and Mr. Clay made a most interesting and impressive speech in favor of protective duties. He described a visit he had lately made to the Waltham manufactory, near Boston. There, some hundreds of girls and boys were occupied in separate apartments. The greatest order, neatness, and apparent comfort, reigned throughout the whole establishment. The daughters of respectable farmers—in one instance he remembered, the daughter of a Senator in the State Legislature—were usefully employed. They would come down to the manufactory,

remain perhaps some months, and return with their earnings to their families to assist them throughout the year.

"I frankly own," said Mr. Clay on this occasion, "that I feel great solicitude for the success of this bill. The entire independence of my country on all foreign states, as it respects a supply of our essential wants, has ever been with me a favorite object. The war of our revolution affected our political emancipation. The last war contributed greatly toward accomplishing our commercial freedom. *But our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognized and adopted.* We have indeed great difficulties to contend with; old habits—colonial usages—the enormous profits of a foreign trade, prosecuted under favorable circumstances, which no longer continue. I will not despair. The cause, I verily believe, is the cause of the country. It may be postponed; it may be frustrated for the moment, but it finally must prevail." And it *was* postponed; it *was* frustrated for the moment; but it finally *did* prevail.

The tariff was remodelled by the house, but their bill was rejected by the Senate.

In 1823, the health of Mr. Clay was very poor—so much so, that his life was despaired of both by his friends and himself. He had attended the Olympian Springs in Kentucky, in the summer had been placed under a strict regimen and subjected to a long course of medicine. In spite of all remedies he felt a gradual decline, and looked forward to a speedy dissolution. In November he was to start for Washington, and fully anticipated that, after reaching that city, if he reached it at all, he should be obliged to hasten to the South as a last resort. He procured a small travelling carriage and a saddle horse—threw aside all the prescriptions of the physician, and commenced his journey. Daily he walked on foot, drove in his carriage and rode on horseback. He arrived at Washington quite well, was elected Speaker, and went through more labor than he ever performed in the same Session, excepting, perhaps, the extra-Session of 1841.

Such were the consequences of the benign legislation introduced and carried into operation by Henry Clay. And though the reverse of the picture may now be presented to us through the violent Executive measures of General Jackson, inflating and then prostrating the currency, and the course afterward pursued, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Mr. Clay has never wavered in his course; and that had his warnings been regarded and his counsels taken, a far different state of things would in all probability, have existed.

The unanimous voice of the country has accorded to Mr. Clay the merit of having been the father of the system, which has been justly called the American system. To his personal history belong the testimonials of the various State Legislatures and conventions, and of the innumerable public meetings, in all parts of the country, which awarded him the praise, and tendered him the grateful acknowledgements of the community. To his individual exertion, the manufacturing industry of the United States is indebted to a degree which it is now difficult

to realize. By the magic power of his eloquence, the country was raised from a state of prostration and distress; cities were called into existence, and the wilderness was truly made to blossom as the rose.

Mr. Clay's zealous and laborious efforts in behalf of the tariff can only be appreciated by a reference to the journal of the House of that period. It seems as if he had been called upon to battle for every item of the bill, inch by inch. The whole power of a large and able opposition was arrayed against him; and every weapon that argument, rhetoric and ridicule could supply was employed. John Randolph was, as on former occasions, an active and bitter antagonist. Once or twice he provoked Mr. Clay into replying to his personal taunts. "Sir," said he on one occasion, "the gentlemen from Virginia was pleased to say that, in one point at least, he coincided with me—in an humble estimate of my grammatical and philological acquirements. I know my deficiencies. I was born to no proud patrimonial estate; from my father I inherited only infancy, ignorance, and indigence. I feel my defects; but, so far as my situation in early life is concerned, I may, without presumption, say they are more my misfortune than my fault. But, however I deplore my want of ability to furnish to the gentleman a better specimen of powers of verbal criticism, I will venture to say, my regret is not greater than the dissatisfaction of this committee as to the strength of his argument."

The following is in a different vein. After the passage of the tariff bill, on the 16th of April, 1824, when the House had adjourned and the Speaker was stepping down from his seat, a gentleman who had voted with the majority, said to him, "we have done pretty well to day."—"Yes," returned Mr. Clay, "we made a good stand, considering we lost both our *Feet*"—alluding to Mr. Foot of Connecticut, and Mr. Foote of New York, who both voted against the bill, though it was thought, some time before, that they would give it their support.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Missouri Question—Mr. Clay resigns the Speakership—The Union in danger—He resumes his seat in Congress—Unparalleled excitement—His compromise of the Question—Pacification of parties—Character of his efforts—Reception of Lafayette in the House—Welcomed by Mr. Clay—Lafayette's reply—Mr. Clay and Mr. Monroe.

DURING the session of 1820-'21, "the distracting question," as it was termed, which had been the subject of many angry and tedious debates, of admitting Missouri into the Union, was discussed in both branches of Congress. The controverted point was, whether she should be admitted as a slave state.

Slavery had been expressly excluded from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois by acts of Congress, on their admission into the Union. But that restriction was, by virtue of an ordinance of the former Congress, under the confederation, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the northwest territory, out of which these States were formed. Missouri was part of the Louisiana territory, purchased of France in 1803. And in various parts of that extensive territory, slavery then and had long existed.

Louisiana had been admitted into the Union without any restriction of the kind proposed for Missouri. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama had also been admitted as separate States, previous to this period, and as they were taken from States in which slavery existed, were made subject to no such restriction. It was contended, that on the same principle, Missouri should also be received, without requiring, as a condition of admission, the exclusion of slavery. And it was also insisted, that it would be interfering with the independent character of a State, to enforce any such restriction, which was manifestly a subject of regulation by the State authority.

On the contrary, it was urged, that in the old States the subject was expressly settled by the constitution, and Congress could not justly interfere in those States; but that it was otherwise with new States received into the Union; in which case Congress had the right to impose such restrictions and conditions as it might choose; that it was evidently the intention of the old Congress not to extend slavery, having prohibited its introduction or existence in new States to be formed out of the northwest territory; and that slavery was so great an evil, and so abhorrant to the principles of a free government, that it should be abolished or prohibited wherever it could be constitutionally effected.

The discussion went on from month to month, and from session to session, increasing in fierceness, and diverging farther and farther from the prospect of an amicable settlement. Among the prominent advo-

causes for excluding slavery from Missouri were Rufus King from New York, Otis of Massachusetts, Dana of Connecticut, Seargent and Hemphill of Pennsylvania. Of those opposed to restriction, were Holmes of Massachusetts, Tandyke and McLane of Delaware, Pinckney of Maryland, Randolph and Barbour of Virginia, Lowmades of S. Carolina, Clay and Johnson of Kentucky.

A bill for the admission of Missouri had been defeated during the session of 1818--'19; and the inflammatory subject had, during the vacation of Congress been a topic of incessant contention. The press entered warmly into the controversy. The most violent pamphlets were published on both sides; public meetings thundered forth their resolutions; and the Union seemed to be fearfully shaken to its centre. It may be imagined, then, with what interest the next session of Congress was looked to by the people.

Many eloquent speeches were made in the House upon the question. Mr. Clay spoke, at one time, near four hours against the restriction; but there remains no published sketch of his remarks. The vote in the House of Representatives was several times given to excluding slavery; but the Senate disagreed, and would not yield to the House.

In 1820, the people of the territory of Missouri proceeded to establish a constitution of government for the contemplated State. Among other provisions, it was ordained in the twenty-sixth section the third article, that it should be the duty of the General Assembly, "*as soon as might be, to pass such laws as were necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State, under any pretext whatever.*" Under this constitution, a State government was organized, and went into operation.

This clause, for the exclusion of free negroes and mulattoes, fanned into fresh life the flame of excitement, which had been partially allayed. The whole country was now thrown into commotion upon the question of admitting Missouri.

In the autumn of 1820, Mr. Clay, who had experienced heavy pecuniary losses by endorsing for a friend, resolved to retire from Congress and in the practice of the law, devote himself to the reparation of his private affairs. Accordingly at the meeting of Congress, the thirteenth of November, 1820, the clerk having announced that a quorum was present, said that he had received a letter from the Hon. Henry Clay, which with the leave of the House, he read as follows:

LEXINGTON, Ky., October 28, 1820.

SIR: I will thank you to communicate to the House of Representatives, that, owing to imperious circumstances, I shall not be able to attend upon it until after the Christmas holidays; and to respectfully ask it to allow me to resign the office of its Speaker, which I have the honor to hold, and consider this as the act of my resignation. I beg the House also to permit me to reiterate the expression of my sincere acknowledgments and unaffected gratitude for the distinguished consideration which it has uniformly manifested for me. I have the honor to be, &c.,

H. CLAY.

THOS. DOUGHERTY, Esq., Clerk H. of R.

In view of the agitating question before Congress, Mr. Clay consented to retain his seat as a member of the House till his term of service expired, although no longer its presiding officer. Early in the session the Missouri question came up. Those who now opposed its admission contended, that free citizens and mulattoes were citizens of their residence; that as such, they had a right, under the constitution, to remove to Missouri, or any other state of the Union, and there enjoy all the privileges and immunities of other citizens of the United States emigrating to the same place; and, therefore, that the clause in the constitution of Missouri, quoted above, was repugnant to that of the United States, and she ought not to be received into the Union.

On the other hand, it was maintained that the African race, whether bond or free, were not parties to our political institutions; that, therefore, free negroes and mulattoes were not citizens, within the meaning of the constitution of the United States; and that even if the constitution of Missouri were repugnant to that of the United States, the latter was paramount, and would overrule the conflicting provision of the former, without the interference of Congress.

Such was the difficult and perilous question which now threatened a disruption of the Union. In some shape or other it was presented almost daily and hourly to Congress; and became, at length, a perfect incubus upon legislation. In this state of things Mr. Clay arrived in Washington, and took his seat in the House the sixteenth of January, 1821. On the second of February, he submitted a motion to refer a resolution of the Senate on the Missouri question to a committee of thirteen—a number suggested by that of the original states of the Union. The motion was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed a committee accordingly:

Messrs. Clay of Ky., Eustis of Mass., Smith of Md., Sergeant of Pa., Lowndes of S. C., Ford of N. York., Campbell of Ohio, Archer of Va., Hackley of N. York, S. Moore of Pa., Cobb of Ga., Tomlinson of Conn., Butler of N. H.

On the tenth of the same month, Mr. Clay made a report, concluding with an amendment to the Senate's resolution, by which amendment Missouri was admitted upon the following fundamental condition:

"It is provided that the said state shall never pass any law preventing any description of persons from coming to and settling in the said state, who now are or hereafter may become citizens of any States of this Union, and provided also, that the legislature of the said state, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said state, to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act, upon the receipt whereof the President by proclamation, shall announce the fact whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of the said state into the Union shall be considered as complete; and provided further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the state of Missouri, when admitted into the Union, the exercise of any right or power which can now be constitutionally exercised by any of the original states."

On the fourteenth of February, the Houses of Congress met in the hall of the House of Representatives to perform the ceremony of counting the votes for President and Vice President of the United States. A scene of great confusion occurred when the votes of the electors for Missouri were announced by the President of the Senate and handed to the tellers. The members of the Senate withdrew and a violent discussion sprang up. By the exertions of Mr. Clay, order was at length restored, and, on his motion, a message was sent to the Senate, that the House was ready to proceed to the completion of the business of counting the votes.

The Senate again came in. The votes of Missouri were read, and the result of all the votes having been read, it was announced by the President of the Senate, that the total number of votes for James Monroe as President of the United States, was 231, and if the votes of Missouri were not counted, was 228; that, in either event, James Monroe had a majority of the whole number of votes given. James Monroe was accordingly re-elected President for four years, commencing on the ensuing fourth of March.

While the proclamation was making, two members of the House claimed the floor to inquire whether the votes of Missouri were or were not counted. Another scene of confusion hereupon ensued, and the House were finally obliged to adjourn in order to put an end to it.

The rejection of Mr. Clay's report seemed to shut out all prospect of an amicable compromise. He was not disheartened, however. He never despaired of the republic. On the 22d of February, he submitted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed, on the part of this house jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and to the House respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original states, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States with Missouri; and if not whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made by law."

This resolution was adopted in the House by a vote of 103 to 55.—The Senate acceded to it by a large majority.

On the fifteenth of August, 1824, General Lafayette, the nation's guest, arrived in New York in the *Cadmus* from Havre, accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette. The following tenth of December he was introduced to the national house of representatives by a select committee appointed for the purpose. Mr. Clay, as Speaker, received him with an address, so pertinent and elegant in its character, that we cannot resist the temptation of quoting it entire:

"GENERAL—The House of Representatives of the United States, impelled alike by its own feelings and by those of the whole American people, could not have assigned to me a more gratifying duty than that of presenting to you our cordial congratulations upon the occasion of

your recent arrival in the United States, in compliance with the wishes of Congress, and to assure you of the very high satisfaction which your presence affords us on this early theatre of your glory and renown. Although but a few of the members who compose this body shared with you in the war of our revolution, all have, from impartial history, or from faithful tradition, a knowledge of the perils, the sufferings, and the sacrifices which you voluntarily encountered, and the signal services, in America and in Europe, which you performed for an infant, a distant, and an alien people; and all feel and own the very great extent of the obligations under which you have placed our country. But the relations in which you have ever stood to the United States, interesting and important as they have been, do not constitute the only motive of the respect and admiration which the House of Representatives entertain for you. Your consistency of character, your uniform devotion to regulated liberty, in all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous life, also command its admiration. During all the recent convulsions of Europe, amidst, as after the dispersion of, every political storm, the people of the United States have beheld you, true to your old principles, firm and erect, cheering and animating with your well known voice, the votaries of liberty, its faithful and fearless champion, ready to shed the last drop of that blood which here you so freely and nobly spilt in the same holy cause.

The vain wish has been sometimes indulged, that Providence would allow the patriot, after death, to return to his own country, and to contemplate the intermediate changes which had taken place—to view the forests felled, the cities built, the mountains levelled, the canals cut, the highways constructed, the progress of the arts, the advancement of learning, and the increase of population. General, your present visit to the United States is a realization of the consoling object of that wish. You are in the midst of posterity. Everywhere, you must have been struck with the great changes, physical and moral, which have occurred since you left us. Even this very city, bearing a venerated name, alike endeared to you and to us, has since emerged from the forest which then covered its site. In one respect you find us unaltered, and that is in the sentiment of continued devotion to liberty, and of ardent affection and profound gratitude to your departed friend, the father of his country and to you, and to your illustrious associates in the field and in the cabinet, for the multiplied blessings which surround us, and for the very privilege of addressing you, which I now exercise. This sentiment, now fondly cherished by more than ten millions of people, will be transmitted, with unabated vigor, down the tide of time, through the countless millions who are destined to inhabit this continent, to the latest posterity."

General Lafayette was much affected by this address, uttered as it was in the speaker's clear, sweet, and silvery tones; and he replied to it in a manner that betrayed much emotion. He maintained to the last a strong attachment for Mr. Clay.

We have seen that Mr. Clay was at variance with President Monroe upon the subject of Internal Improvements, as well as in regard to the mode of recognizing the independence of the South American patriots.

Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the personal relations of the speaker and the chief magistrate were friendly. Mr. Clay was offered a seat in the cabinet, and a *carte blanche* of all the former missions. Had *place* been his ambition and his object, he might have attained it without any sacrifice of independence—without any loss of position as the acknowledged head of the great republican party. He saw, however, that he could be more useful to his country in Congress. Measures of vital importance were to be carried through. The tariff was to be adjusted—the Missouri business to be settled—the constitutionality of internal improvements was to be admitted—South American independence was to be acknowledged—how could he conscientiously quit a post, where he wielded an influence more potent than the President's while such momentous questions remained open? They being disposed of he would be at liberty to pursue any course, which his inclinations might indicate, or which the public interests might sanction.

CHAPTER IX.

The Presidential question—Nomination of Mr. Clay—His qualifications set forth—General Harrison in favor of Henry Clay—Slanders in the House—Kremer's letter—Monstrous nature of the charges against Mr. C.—His course in regard to them—Appointment of a committee of examination—Complete refutation of the calumny—Mr. Clay's address to his constituents—Election of John Quincy Adams by the House—Exasperation of Gen. Jackson's friends—Mr. Clay's independence of spirit—Motives of his preference.

As Mr. Monroe's second Presidential term drew to a close, the question of the next Presidency began to be busily agitated. Four prominent candidates were presented by their friends for the suffrages of the people: being John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia.

In November 1822, Mr. Clay had been nominated as a successor to James Monroe, at a meeting of the members of the Legislature of Kentucky. The nomination soon after met with a response from similar meetings in Louisiana, Missouri, and Ohio; and, as the period of election approached, he was hailed by large bodies of his fellow citizens in all parts of the country as their favorite candidate.

The campaign of 1824 was one of the most warmly contested in our annals. Some of the more unscrupulous of the friends of the various candidates resorted to manœuvres unworthy of their cause to advance their ends. Just as the election was commencing, a report was industriously circulated in different quarters of the country, that Mr. Clay had withdrawn from the presidential contest. In consequence of this report, Gen. William H. Harrison, and other of Mr. Clay's friends in Ohio, published a declaration, in which it was asserted, that he (Mr. Clay) "would not be withdrawn from the contest but by the fiat of his Maker." Our late lamented chief magistrate was at that time and ever after, his devoted political as well as personal friend; and he has often been heard to declare his preference for him over all other candidates.

Early in the campaign it was discovered that there would be no election of President by the people. By the constitution, the House of Representatives would therefore be called upon to choose from the three highest candidates. In December 1824, soon after the meeting of Congress it was known that the three highest candidates were Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, and that Mr. Clay and his friends would have it in their power, when the question came before the House, of turning the balance in favor of any one of the three.

Mr. Clay's position now was an extremely important one. Several weeks were to intervene before the election; and, in the meantime, the partizans of the three candidates looked with intense anxiety to the Speaker's course. Mr. Clay's preferences were distinctly known to his personal friends, for he had expressed them in his letters and his conversation; but it would have been indelicate and superfluous for him to have electioneered in behalf of any one of the rival candidates—to have given occasion for intrigues and coalitions by deciding the question in advance.

While all parties were in this state of suspense, a gross and unprincipled attempt was made to browbeat Mr. Clay, and drive him from what was rightly supposed to be his position of preference for Mr. Adams. A letter which was afterward avowed by George Kremer, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper, called the *Columbia Observer*, charging Mr. Clay and his friends with the most flagitious intentions—in short with the design of selling their vote to the highest bidder.

Monstrous as were these intimations, they were calculated to carry some weight with the ignorant and unreflecting. By such persons it would not be taken into consideration, that Mr. Clay had already declined offices of the highest grade under Madison and Monroe—that, if either Jackson or Crawford had been elected through his agency, the first office in the gift of either, would indubitably have been offered to him—that, in accepting office under Mr. Adams, it was universally understood at Washington he was conferring rather than receiving a favor—that, he might not inaptly have been accused of acting an ungenerous part, if, after bringing the Adams administration into power he had refused it the countenance so essential to its success—that he would have neglected the solicitations of the secretaryship—and, in short, that in order to justify his vote it was incumbent on him to submit to the united voice of the friends of the new administration, and bring to it as much of his western strength as he could lend.

The *Columbian Observer*, in which the precious epistle we have alluded to appeared, was a print sustained by Mr. Eaton, the friend, biographer, and colleague in the Senate of General Jackson. The position of the writer of the letter, as a member of Congress, gave it a consequence, which, utterly contemptible as it is, it would not otherwise, in any degree, have possessed. Mr. Clay deemed it incumbent upon him to notice it; and he published a card in the *National Intelligencer*, pronouncing the author of the letter, whoever he might be, "a base and infamous calumniator." This was answered by a card from Mr. George Kremer, in which he said, he held himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements in the letter so far as Mr. Clay was concerned.

The calumny having been thus fathered, Mr. Clay rose in his place in the House, and demanded an investigation into the affair.

A committee was accordingly appointed by ballot on the fifth of February, 1835. It was composed of some of the leading members of the

House, not one of whom was Mr. Clay's political friend. Although Mr. Kremer had declared to the House and to the public his willingness to bring forward his proofs, and his readiness to abide the issue of the inquiry, his fears on other counsels than his own, prevailed upon him to take refuge in a miserable subterfuge. The committee reported that Mr. Kremer declined appearing before them, alleging that he "*could not do so without appearing either as an accuser or a witness, both of which he protested against!*"

And yet, this same Mr. Kremer, a day or two before, when the subject to appoint an investigating committee came up, had risen in his seat in the House, and said: "If, upon an investigation being instituted, it should appear that he had not sufficient reason to justify the statements he had made, he trusted he should receive the marked rebroation which had been suggested by the speaker. Let it fall, where it might, Mr. K. said, *he was willing to meet the inquiry, and abide the result.*"

But it is not on Mr. Kremer alone that our indignation should be expended for this miserable attempt to bolster up a profligate calumny just long enough for it to operate on an approaching election. He was merely a tool in the hands of deeper rogues. A thick-headed, illiterate, foolish, good natured man, he was ready, in his blind attachment to General Jackson, to do any servile deed that might propagate his idols.

Mr Clay has himself given an interesting account of this affair in an address to his constituents.

On the ninth of February, 1825, in the presence of both houses of Congress, Mr. Tazewell from the committee of tellers, reported the votes of the different States, for President and Vice President of the United States. The aggregate were as follows: John Quincy Adams, had eighty-four votes; Wm. H. Crawford, forty one; Andrew Jackson ninety-nine; and Henry, Clay thirty-seven.

The President of the Senate then rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States; that Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams and Wm. H. Crawford were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a President now devolved on the House of Representatives. He further declared that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having received one hundred and eighty two votes, was duly elected Vice President of the United States, to serve for four years from the ensuing fourth day of March. The members of the Senate then retired.

The constitution provides, that "from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three, on the list voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot, a President."

The friends of General Jackson now, as a matter of course, eagerly advanced the doctrine, that a *plurality* of votes for any candidate should be considered as decisive of the will of the people and should influence

the members of the House in their votes. As if a mere plurality forsooth ought to swallow up a majority! A more preposterous doctrine, and one more directly in the face of the constitution, could not well be imagined. It cannot be called democratic, for it does not admit the prevalence of the will of the majority in the election. It was in fact a dogma engendered for the occasion by the friends of the candidate, who happened to come into the House with a plurality of votes.

Mr. Clay was not to be dragooned into the admission of any such principle. He resolved to be guided by what was plainly the letter and spirit of the constitution, and to give his vote to that man, whom he believed to be the most competent to preside over the destinies of the republic. By a personal visit to Mr. Crawford he had satisfied himself that that gentleman was too broken down in health, to discharge with fitting energy the duties of the Chief Magistracy. His option therefore lay between Messrs. Adams and Jackson.

We have seen what were Mr. Clay's views of the character of Gen. Jackson as far back as 1819, when the Seminole question was before the House. Was it possible that he should regard those traits, which, in the soldier, had led to conduct, at war with the constitution, as qualifications in the President? General Jackson was furthermore, understood to be hostile to those great systems of internal improvement and protection to home manufactures, which Mr. Clay had spent the best part of his public life in establishing. At least the General's views were vacillating and undecided on these points. Could Mr. Clay be called upon to sacrifice those important interests on the shrine of merely sectional partiality—for the sake of having a western rather than an eastern man to preside over the Union?

No! Henry Clay was not to be influenced by such narrow and unworthy considerations. He has himself said: "Had I voted for General Jackson in opposition to the well known opinions, which I entertained of him, one-tenth part of the ingenuity, and zeal which have been employed to excite prejudices against me, would have held me up to universal contempt; and, *what would have been worse, I should have felt that I really deserved it.*"

CHAPTER X.

Account of Mr. Clay's intercourse with General Jackson--Carle's Beverly's letter charging bargain, corruption and intrigue--General Jackson the accuser of Mr. Clay--Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, giving the lie to General Jackson--Final refutation of the slander by a cloud of witnesses, Western members of Congress and others.

MR. CLAY has himself given to the public a history of his intercourse with General Jackson. It may be found in his speech of 1833 in the Senate on the Sub Treasury scheme.

"My acquaintance," he says, "with that extraordinary man commenced in this city, in the fall of 1815 or 1816. It was short, but highly respectful and mutually cordial. I beheld in him the gallant and successful general, who, by the glorious victory of New Orleans, had honorably closed the second war of our independence,, and I paid him the homage due for that eminent service. A few years after, it became my painful duty to animadvert, in the House of Representatives, with the independence which belongs to the Representative character, upon some of his proceedings in the conduct of the Seminole war, which I thought illegal and contrary to the constitution and the law of nations. A non-intercourse between us ensued, which continued until the fall of 1824, when, he being a member of the Senate, an accommodation between us was sought to be brought about by the principal part of the delegation from his own State. For that purpose, we were invited to dine with them at Claxton's boarding-house, on Capitol Hill, Where my venerable friend from Tennessee (Mr. White) and his colleague on the Spanish commission, were both present. I retired early from dinner, and was followed to the door by General Jackson and the present minister of the United States at the court of Madrid (Mr. Eaton.) They pressed me earnestly to take a seat with them in their carriage. My faithful servant and friend, Charles, was standing at the door waiting for me with my own. I yielded to their urgent politeness, directed Charles to follow with my carriage, and they sat me down at my own door. We afterward frequently met, with mutual respect and cordiality; dined several times together, and reciprocated the hospitality of our respective quarters. This friendly intercourse continued until the election, in the House of Representatives, of a President of the United States, came on in February, 1825. I gave the vote which, in the contingency that happened, I told my colleague, (Mr. Crittenden,) who sits before me, prior to my departure from Kentucky, in November, 1824, and told others, that I should give. All intercourse ceased between General Jackson and myself. We have never since, except once accidentally, exchanged salutations, nor met, except on occasions when we were performing the last offices toward deceased

members of Congress, or other officers of government. Immediately after my vote, a rancorous war was commenced against me, and all the barking dogs let loose upon me. I shall not trace it during its ten years' bitter continuance. But I thank my God that I stand here, firm and erect, unbent, unbroken, unsubdued, unawed, and ready to denounce the mischievous measures of this administration, and ready to denounce this, its legitimate offspring, the most pernicious of all."

Directly after the adjournment of the 19th Congress, a letter dated March 8, 1825, appeared in the newspapers purporting to relate a conversation of the writer with General Jackson, in which the latter said that Mr. Clay's friends in Congress proposed to his friends (Gen. J.'s) that if they would promise for him, that Mr. Adams should not be continued as Secretary of State, Mr. Clay and his friends would at once elect Gen. Jackson President; and that he (General Jackson) indignantly rejected the proposition. Mr. Carter Beverly, the author of this letter, wrote to General Jackson, after its appearance, for a confirmation of its statements.

Gen. Jackson replied, in a letter dated June 5, 1827—*more than two years after the charge was first made*; and in his reply, directly charged the friends of Mr. Clay with having proposed to him, (Jackson,) through a distinguished member of Congress, to vote for him, in case he would declare that Mr. Adams should not be continued as Secretary of State; and insinuated that this proposition was made by authority of Mr. Clay; and, to strengthen that insinuation, asserted that immediately after the rejection of the proposition, Mr. Clay came out openly for Mr. Adams.

To this proposition, according to his own account, Gen. Jackson returned for answer, that before he would reach the presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, "he would see the earth open, and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends and himself with them."

Gen. Jackson gave up the name of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania as the "distinguished member of Congress," to whom he had alluded in his letter to Mr. Beverly. Mr. Buchanan being thus involved in the controversy, although a personal and political friend of Gen. Jackson, made a statement which entirely exculpated Mr. Clay and his friends from all participation in the alleged proposition. He stated that in the month of December, a rumor was in circulation at Washington, that Gen. Jackson intended, if elected, to keep Mr. Adams in as Secretary of State. Believing that such a belief would cool his friends and inspire his opponents with confidence, and being a supporter of General Jackson himself he thought that the General ought to contradict the report. He accordingly called on him, and made known his views; to which Gen. Jackson replied, that though he thought well of Mr. Adams, he had never said or intimated, that he would or would not, appoint him Secretary of State. Mr. Buchanan then asked permission to repeat this answer to any person he thought proper, which was granted, and here the conversation ended. And out of such flimsy materials had Gen. Jackson constructed his rancorous charge against Mr. Clay!

Mr. Buchanan further stated, that he called on Gen. Jackson solely as *his friend*, and upon his own responsibility, and not as an agent for Mr. Clay, or any other person; that he had never been a friend of Mr. Clay during the presidential contest; *and that he had not the most distant idea that Gen. Jackson believed, or suspected, that he came on behalf of Mr. Clay or his friends, until the publication of the letter, making that accusation.*

Notwithstanding all grounds for the charge were thus annihilated by the testimony of the "distinguished member of Congress"—himself a warm partizan of Gen. Jackson—the asinine city of bargain and corruption was still kept up by the opponents of the administration; and the most audacious assertions were substituted for proofs.

At length, although not the slightest shadow of anything resembling evidence had been produced in support of the calumny, a body of testimony perfectly overwhelming was produced against it. A circular letter was addressed to the western members (for they alone were accused of being implicated in the alleged transaction) who voted for Mr. Adams in the election by Congress in 1825, requesting to know whether there was any foundation for the charge in the letter of Gen. Jackson.

They all (with the exception of Mr. Cook, who was dead) utterly disclaimed the knowledge of any proposition made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, to General Jackson, or to any other person; and also explicitly disclaimed any negotiation with respect to their votes on that occasion. On the contrary, the members from Ohio stated that they had determined upon voting for Mr. Adams *previous to their being informed of Mr. Clay's intention*, and without having ascertained his views.

The members from Kentucky, who voted with Mr. Clay, expressed their ignorance of conditions of any sort having been offered by his friends to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend.

The members from Louisiana and Missouri, coincided in these declarations, and they all professed their belief in the falsehood of the charges made against Mr. Clay, on account of his conduct on that occasion.

In addition to this testimony, letters were produced from well known individuals, satisfactorily establishing the fact that Mr. Clay, previous to his leaving his residence in Kentucky for Washington, in the fall of 1824, repeatedly made declarations of his preference for Mr. Adams over General Jackson, through the months of October, November, December and January following, until he executed that intention on the ninth of February, 1825, in the House of Representatives.

We now commence publishing the mass of evidence, with which we intend effectually to crush the accusation respecting the "*bargain, intrigue and corruption*" charged by Gen. Jackson and his tools, and at the same time convince the public, that in voting for Mr. ADAMS, Mr. Clay and his friends conscientiously discharged their duty; and that they could not have voted otherwise without palpable inconsistency.

cy. We commence with the Statement of Gov. VANCE of Ohio, then a member of Congress, as were also the other gentlemen whose statements are herewith given:—

URBANA, July 12th, 1827.

SIR:—On my return from a visit to West Point, I found your favor of the 5th of May, and with great cheerfulness answer the question therein propounded.

You ask me as one of the friends of Mr. Clay, that voted for Mr. Adams, if I knew of any proposition being made to General Jackson or his friends, by Mr. Clay or his friends, that if he, Jackson, would not appoint Mr. Adams Secretary of State, that we, the friends of Mr. Clay would support him for the Presidency. I say without hesitation that I never heard of those, or any other terms being thought of, as an equivalent for the vote we were about to give; nor do I believe that the friends of Mr. Clay, or Mr. Clay himself, ever thought of making or suggesting any terms to any one of the parties, as the grounds of our acceptance or rejection of either of the three candidates returned to the House of Representatives. As one of the original friends of Mr. Clay I was in the habit of free and unreserved conversation both with him and his other friends, relative to that election, and I am bold to say that I never heard a whisper of any thing like a condition on which our vote was to be given, mentioned either by Mr. Clay himself or any of his friends, at any time or under any circumstances. That the friends of Mr. Clay while the election was pending before the House, were treated with great kindness and courtesy, by the friends of the other candidates, is certainly true, and that we were strongly importuned to support their respective favorites, is equally true: but I can say with truth, and I say it with great pleasure, that I never heard a proposition from the friend or friends of either of the candidates, or from any other person, directed either to the ambition or avarice of those having a voice in the election, calculated or intended to swerve them from a conscientious discharge of their duty. Nor do I believe it was the opinion of any well informed man, in the House of Representatives, until it was seized hold of by the Combination as the best and only means to ruin Mr. Clay.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant.

JOSEPH VANCE.

HON. T. WATKINS.

LANCASTER, May 21st 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Absence from home, is the reason why I have not, been before this answered your letter, upon the subject of the letter said to have been written by a "highly respectable Virginian."

I do not know that a friend or the friends of Mr. Clay ever made any proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson, respecting the election of Mr. Adams as President in any way, or as respecting Gen. Jackson "not putting Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State," in case he (Jackson) should be elected President.

Neither am I acquainted with a friend of Mr. Clay's that would consent to be an agent in such a degrading transaction.

Nor can I admit that the friends of Mr. Clay had so contemptible an opinion of each other or of Mr. Clay, as to suppose that the appointment or non-appointment of any man to any office would influence them in the discharge of an important public duty.

Mr. Clay and his friends, preferred Mr. Adams to General Jackson merely because they believed he, in a more eminent degree, possessed the qualifications necessary to the able performance of the high duties assigned by the Constitution and Laws to the President of the United States.

I am, dear sir, with great respect, your obedient servant.

P. BEECHER.

DOCTOR TOBIAS WATKINS, Washington.

WOOSTER, May 9th 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 1st instant, has been received. I had previously noticed the letter said to have been written by a "*highly respectable Virginian*," to which it refers. In answer to your inquiries, I have to state, that I have always supposed myself in the entire confidence of all Mr. Clays supporters and friends, who were members of Congress at the time of the Presidential election; and that I have no hesitation in saying that I never heard the most distant insinuation from any of them that they would vote for General Jackson, if there was any prospect of choosing either of the candidates. That any of the friends of Mr. Clay in Congress ever made any proposition of conditions, on which their votes would depend, to the friends of General Jackson or any other person, I do not believe. Had General Jackson been chosen, they would have felt no concern as to who he might have appointed members of his cabinet; and as to Mr. Clay's accepting an appointment under him, they would, to a man, have most certainly opposed it. I judge of this from the opinion which I know they entertained of General Jackson's want of capacity, and the fact that it was not until some time after the choice of Mr. Adams that they agreed to advise Mr. Clay to accept the office he now holds. His acceptance has always been regarded by them as a favor done to the country, and not as one conferred upon him.

If the disposition of General Jackson could have been judged of by the importunity of some of his Congressional friends, I should have supposed that a proposition of the kind mentioned, would have been instantly closed with; but no such propositions were ever made by the friends of Mr. Clay, and none such would have been accepted by them.

In short I feel confident that the whole *is a vile and infamous falsehood*, such as honorable men would not resort to, more especially after having upon full consultation and deliberate consideration declined an investigation of the whole matter before a committee of the House of Representatives.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. SLOANE.

HON. TOBIAS WATKINS.

STEUBENVILLE, 6th May, 1827.

DEAR SIR :—Yours of the 1st current, stating that Gen. Jackson is reported to have said, at his table, “in the presence of all his company,” that Mr. Clay’s friends made a proposition to his friends that if they would promise *for him not* to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would in *one hour* make him, Jackson, the President,” &c. &c. and asking me to inform you whether I know, or believe that such a proposition was ever made? Or, whether conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend?

In reply I can only say sincerely and unequivocally, that I do not know or believe that any proposition of the kind mentioned, as from General Jackson, was ever made to the friends of General Jackson, by the friends of Mr. Clay or any of them; and that I am wholly ignorant of any conditions, of any sort, being proposed to any one, by the friends of Mr. Clay on a compliance with which their votes was made to depend.

Allow me to observe, in addition, that the vote of the Ohio Delegation was determined upon by consultation among its members, so far as I know or believe, without any stipulation or agreement with the Delegation of any other State, or individual, as to what that vote should be. To my knowledge, no influence whatever, other than the convictions of each member, after a candid and serious examination into the fitness and qualifications of the three candidates before the House, for the office of Chief Magistrate, and an ardent desire properly to discharge the important duty devolved upon them by the Constitution, according to its spirit, operated to control the vote of any one of Mr. Clay’s friends, or himself.

In great haste, sincerely yours,

J. C. WRIGHT.

T. WATKINS, ESQ.

GALLIPOLIS, (Ohio,) May 27th 1843.

DEAR SIR :—On returning home, to-day from a short journey, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 1st instant, addressed to me concerning the publication of a letter, that first appeared in the “Fayetteville Observer,” said to have been written by “a highly respectable Virginian,” containing a statement, in substance to this effect—that General Jackson, in answer to a question put to him by the writer, in presence of his, Gen. J.’s company, said that Mr. Clay’s friends made a proposition to his friends, that if they would promise for him, Jackson, not to make Mr. Adams his Secretary of State, that Mr. Clay and his friends would make him President at the then approaching election by Congress. You request me to favor you with a statement concerning my knowledge of this matter. Having been one of the friends of Mr. Clay, who voted for Mr. Adams, I cheerfully avail myself of this opportunity to say that I have no knowledge whatever of the above mentioned proposition or any other proposition having been made to

Gen. Jackson, or any of his friends, as a condition upon which his or their vote was to be given to Gen. Jackson for the Presidency.

It may not, perhaps, be amiss to add, in relation to myself, that though I hold the public services of Gen. Jackson in the highest estimation, it was well known to my constituents for many months previous to the late Presidential election, that after Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams was my next choice among the distinguished individuals who were then before the people of the United States as candidates for that exalted station.

SAMUEL F. VINTON

T. WATKINS Esq.

PIQUA, OHIO, 18th May, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the first instant came to hand by the last mail, and in compliance with your request I will answer the interrogatories you propound. I had prior to the reception of your letter, read the publication to which you allude, said to have been written by a “highly respectable Virginian,” and dated at Nashville, the 8th of March last, which first appeared, I believe, in the Fayetteville Observer, and subsequently in several other papers, in which the writer, after having mentioned his visit to Gen. Jackson thus proceeds. “He, (General Jackson,) told me this morning, before all his company, in reply to a question I put to him, concerning the election of John Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay’s friends made a proposition to his friends that if they would promise *for him*, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State. Clay and his friends would *in one hour*, make him, Jackson, the President. He most indignantly rejected the proposition, and declared that he would not compromit himself, and unless most *openly and fairly* made the President he would not receive it. He declared that he said to them he would see the whole earth sink under him, before he would bargain or intrigue for it.”

You ask me to inform you whether conditions of any sort were made by the friends of Mr Clay, to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend? I answer that no such proposition was ever made, within my knowledge, nor have I any cause to believe that conditions of any sort, were made, at any time, by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend. I will further say, I cannot believe that Gen. Jackson made the declaration attributed to him, in the letter purporting to have been written by a “highly respectable Virginian.

I am very respectfully, your obedient servant

WM. M’LEAN.

T. WATKINS, Esq. Washington City.

CANFIELD, Trumbull county, Ohio, May 12, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 1st was received this morning. In answer to your enquiries, I reply, that I do not know or believe that any proposition was ever made by any of Mr. Clay’s friends to those of Gen. Jackson’s, on the morning of the Presidential election, or at

any other time, having any bearing on the candidate to be selected from the three returned to the House, nor do I know or believe that any conditions of any sort were proposed by the friends of Mr. Clay to any person, on a compliance with which their vote was made to depend; but I do believe that the assertion made by Gen. Jackson, as reported by a "highly respectable Virginian," and all of the charges of a like character, imputing either to Mr. Adams or to Mr. Clay, or to their friends, any improper, inconsistent, corrupt or fraudulent conduct, on that interesting and momentous occasions, are *base slanders*, known to be such by those who put them in circulation, yet very honestly credited by many worthy citizens. My intercourse with the friends of Mr. Clay was such that, had any proposition been made by them, I should have been very likely to have known of it. No man was elevated to an office by views more pure and patriotic than was Mr. Adams. The assertion imputed to General Jackson is ridiculous on the face of it. Admitting that Mr. Clay and his friends were oscillating, previous to the charges made against Mr. Clay, of which Mr. Kremer afterwards assumed to be the author, those charges must have separated them from General Jackson and his friends; but, as between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, neither Mr. Clay nor his friends doubted for a moment whom to support, and if it had been known on the day that Congress met that Mr. Clay would not be returned, and the vote had then been taken, (considering Mr. Crawford's illness,) the result would have been the same as when the election was held. If Mr. Clay's friends were halting between two opinions, on the morning of the election, how happens it the charge of fraud, corruption, bargain, and sale, were made ten days or a fortnight before that time? If General Jackson has any evidence in his possession to sustain his declaration, why does he withhold it from the public?

Very respectfully yours,

E. WHITTELSEY.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

MANSFIELD, O., May, 24th, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 2nd instant was just received, giving a statement of the contents of a letter said to have been written by a highly respectable Virginian, relative to a statement said to have been made by General Jackson, on the subject of the late Presidential Election.

Before I proceed, in justice to the General, I will say that I do not believe that he ever made the declaration alluded to by the writer of said letter, for the General was there when the election took place, and must inevitably have known that such a statement would *carry falsehood on the very face of it*. It was well known that some of the friends of Mr. Clay from Ohio, would not, in any event, give their support to Gen. Jackson, because Mr. Adams was their second choice, and believed to be second choice of a majority of the people of this State; and further, Gen. Jackson must know that two weeks previous to the election, Mr. Clay and his friends were assailed in a vulgar and ungentlemanly manner, for declaring their intention to vote for the present

Executive; yet this proposition is said to have been made to the friends of Gen. Jackson that on certain conditions "the General should be President in one hour," which if true, must have been made only one hour before the Canvass took place in the House. This statement of itself needs no refutation except for the respectable source from which it is said to have emanated. I was in the House, I believe, every day of that session at which the President was elected; and have no hesitation in saying, that so far from making any proposition or overture, were the friends of Mr. Clay, in favor of the General, that had the friends of the General made such a proposition, we would have considered it as an indignity offered to our integrity and understanding. I could not have voted for the General in any event, for many reasons—two of which I will mention; First, I believed him far inferior to all the other candidates in point of talents: Second, I had doubts of his being a real friend to the Tariff to protect the manufactures of our own country. I will also mention that I had entertained doubts of his being friendly to internal improvement under the direction of the General Government. These opinions have been, within the present year, verified by declarations, and the course pursued by the General's leading friends, and his silence on the subject, after being solicited to come out.

M. BARTLEY.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

ST. COMSVILLE, May, 9th, 1827.

SIR:—Yours of the 1st instant was received the 7th, and in answer to your inquiry I frankly state to you that if any such proposition as you state, was made by the friends of Mr. Clay to those of Gen. Jackson, I had no knowledge of it; and I was one of the friends of Mr. Clay; I therefore believe the report to be without an honest foundation.

Respectfully yours, &c.

JOHN PATTERSON.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

LANCASTER, KY., 26th June, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 2d May, did not reach me until a day or two ago. You inquire whether I know any thing in relation to the following statement, said to have been made by a "highly respectable Virginian": "He (General Jackson,) told me this morning, before all his company, in reply to a question I put to him, concerning the election of John Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr. Clay's friends made a proposition to his friends that if they would promise, *for him*, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, *in one hour*, make him Jackson, the President."

I know of no such proposition or intimation, nor have I a knowledge of any fact or circumstance which would induce me to believe that Mr. Clay's friends or any one of them, ever made such a proposition to the friends of Gen. Jackson.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

R. P. LETCHER.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

GREENSBURGH, Ky., May 26, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Having been absent from home, for some time, yours of the 2d of this month was not received until a day or two since.—You mention a letter, said to have been written by a “highly respectable Virginian,” dated at Nashville, 8th of March last, which first appeared in the Fayetteville Observer, in which Gen. Jackson is represented as having said before all his company, in reply to a question put to him by the Virginian, concerning the election of J. Q. Adams to the Presidency, that Mr Clay’s friends made a proposition to his friends that if they would promise, *for him*, not to put Mr. Adams into the seat of the Secretary of State, Clay and his friends would, in one hour, make him, Jackson, President.”

In answer to your inquiries on this subject, I will remark that I have no reason to believe that any such proposition was made. Indeed no proposition of any description, relating to the election of President was made, so far as I know or believe, by Mr Clay’s friends to those of Gen Jackson, or of any other person.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD A. BUCKNER.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

YELLOW BANKS, 10th June, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—I did not answer your letter of the 2d of May last, and the apology I offer, I expected Gen. Jackson would have contradicted the report of the conversation he had with the “*respectable Virginian*,” or that he would have designated the friend of Mr. Clay who made the proposition to make him President, if he would not make Mr. Adams Secretary.

If I had not have been disappointed in my expectations, an answer from me would have been unnecessary.

General Jackson remains silent, and the only inference to be drawn is, that he did have the conversation alluded to with the Virginian.

I now answer your inquiry, and say I know of no proposition made by the friends of Mr. Clay to the friends of General Jackson to make him President if he would not select Mr. Adams to the seat of Secretary; and I do not believe a proposition of any kind was made, and I expect if the friend of the General should ever speak on the subject, he will be a second Kremer.

Yours, with respect,

P. THOMPSON.

T. WATKINS, Esq.

BATON ROUGE, July 17, 1827.

DEAR SIR:—In answer to your letter of the 1st of May, in which you inquire whether I know or believe that the friends of Mr. Clay during the pendency of the last Presidential election, proposed to the friends of General Jackson to make him the President upon condition that he would not continue Mr. Adams Secretary of State. I have no knowledge of any propositions having been made by the friends of

Mr. Clay or any of them to the friends of General Jackson or to any other person, in relation to the election of President; or the proposition of conditions of any sort, on a compliance with which their vote was to depend. I believe the charge wholly destitute of truth.

I am, very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

H. H. GURLEY.

DOCTOR T. WATKINS.

FRANKFORT, September 31, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 23rd of July last, and cannot hesitate to give you the statement you have requested.

Some time in the fall of 1824, conversing upon the subject of the then pending presidential election, and speaking in reference to your exclusion from the contest, and to your being called upon to decide and vote between the other candidates who might be returned to the House of Representatives, you declared that you could not, or that it was impossible for you to 'vote for Gen. Jackson in any event.' My impression is that the conversation took place at Capt. Weisiger's tavern in this town [Frankfort Ky.] not very long before you went on to Congress in the fall preceeding the last presidential election, and that the declaration made by you as above stated was elicited by some intimation that fell from me of my preference for Gen. Jackson over all the other candidates except yourself. It was one of the many casual conversations we had together upon the subject of that election, and various other subjects, and had entirely escaped from my mind until my attention was particularly recalled to it after the election.

I will only add, sir, that I have casually learned from my friend Colonel James Davidson, our state Treasurer, (what you may probably have forgotten,) that you conversed with him, about the same time, upon the same subject, and made to him, in substance, the same declaration that you did to me.

Notwithstanding the reluctance I feel at having my humble name drawn before the public, I could not, in justice, refuse to give you the above statement of facts, with permission to use them as you may think proper for the purpose of your own vindication.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.

J. J. CRITTENDEN.

Hon. H. CLAY, Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, August 14th, 1827.

I certify that in the early part of the session of Congress '24-5; I dined at the Columbian College with Gen. Lafayette, and Mr. Clay and others—on returning from that dinner to town, Mr. Clay and myself (there being no other person with us) came in the same hack. During the ride our conversation turned on the then pending presidential election. I expressed myself, in the event of the contest being narrowed down to Mr. Adams and General Jackson, in favor of Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay expressed a coincidence of opinion.

JAMES BARBOUR.

ROCKVILLE, Montgomery County, Md. Nov. 3, 1827.

In the fall of the year 1824, I saw Gen. Call and several other gentlemen, members of Congress, on their way to Washington, at a tavern in Rockville; they were conversing on the subject of the presidential election, and when the vote which Mr. Clay would probably give was spoken of, Gen. Call declared that the friends of Gen. Jackson did not expect Mr. Clay to vote for him, and if he did so, it would be an act of duplicity on his part.

JOHN BRADDOCK.

PHILADELPHIA, October 2, 1827.

SIR:—In answer to yours of yesterday's date requesting me to state to you the particulars of some remarks which you were informed I had heard General Jackson use on the subject of the Presidential election. I have to state that on my way down the Ohio from Wheeling to Cincinnati, in the month of March, 1825, on board of the steamboat General Nelville among many other passengers, were Gen. Jackson and a number of gentlemen from Pennsylvania, some of whom remarked to the General, that they regretted that he had not been elected President instead of Mr. Adams. General Jackson replied, that if he would have made the same promises and offers to Mr. Clay, that Mr. Adams had done, he (Gen. Jackson) would then, in that case, been in the Presidential chair, but he would make no promises to any: that if he went to the Presidential chair, he would go with clean hands and uncontrolled by any one. These remarks were made by Gen. Jackson in the hearing of Mr. James Parker, of Chester county—Mr. William Crowsdill of this city, and myself, and a number of other gentlemen unknown to me.

I am with respect, yours, &c.

DANIEL LARGE.

SAMUEL WETHERHILE, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA, October 3, 1827.

The statement made by Mr. Dan. Large in the prefixed letter, is a faithful account of Gen Jackson's conversation on the occasion alluded to.

WM. CROWSDILL.

The following is an extract from a letter written to Mr. CLAY. by GENERAL LAFAYETTE, dated La Grange, October 10, 1817, in answer to interrogatories put to him on the subject of this slander:—

Blessed as I have lately been with the welcome, and conscious, as it is my happy lot to be, of the affection and confidence of all parties and all men in every party within the United States, feelings which I most cordially reciprocate, I ever have thought myself bound to avoid taking any part in local or personal divisions. Indeed, if I thought that in these matters my influence could be of any avail, it should be solely exerted to deprecate, not by far, the free, republican, and full discussion of principles and candidates, but those invidious slanders which, although they are happily repelled by the good sense, the candor and in domestic instances, by the delicacy of the American people,

tend to give abroad incorrect and disparaging impressions. Yet, that line of conduct from which I must not deviate except in imminent cases now out of the question, does not imply a forgetfulness of facts nor a refusal to state them occasionally. My remembrance concurs with your own on this point, that in the latter end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the presidential candidature, and after having expressed my above mentioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of a confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple unqualified question, respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was that in your opinion the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, and that you had concluded to vote for Mr. Adams. Such has been, if not the literal wording, at least the precise sense of a conversation which it would have been inconsistent for me to carry farther and not to keep a secret while a recollection of it, to assist your memory I should not now deny not only to you as my friend, but to any man in a similar situation.—Present my affectionate respects to Mrs. Clay—remember me to all your family, and to our friends in Washington. I will write by the same packet to the President. Believe me forever your sincere obliged friend.

LAFAYETTE.

Extract from a letter from Joseph Kent, Governor of Maryland, to a gentleman of Frankfort, Ky. dated

ROSEMONT, May 15th. 1827.

“I have seen so little of late from your state upon the subject of politics, that I do not know whether the violence of the opposition to the present administration has extended itself among you or not. Our friend Mr. Clay appears to be the chief object of persecution with the opposition. They are with great industry conducting a systematical attack upon him which commenced with the Kremer story, which was an entire fabrication. At the time the plot opened I was a member of the House of Representatives and heard Kremer declare he never designed to charge Mr. Clay with any thing dishonorable in his life. The old man, naturally honest, was imposed on at that time by a powerful influence, and constrained to act his part in an affair, which from beginning to end, was as much a fiction as the Merry Wives of Windsor or the School of Scandal. The attack on Mr. Clay during the late session of Congress, by General Saunders, as far as I could judge from the debate as published, proved an entire abortion, & I do not know which surprise me most, the folly of the attack, or the inconsistency of the General. You have seen, no doubt, that Mr. F. Johnson stated in his reply to General Saunders, that at the time of the Presidential election in the House of Representatives, he, Gen. S. was decidedly in favor of Mr. Adams in preference to Gen. Jackson. In confirmation of what Mr. Johnson has stated, I well remember that not ten minutes before the election Gen. Saunders came to me, with an anxious countenance, discovering deep concern indeed, and used these emphatic words—“I hope to God you may be able to terminate the election on the first ballot, for fear we from North Carolina may be

forced to vote for Gen. Jackson." North Carolina, you know, voted in the House of Representatives, for Mr. Crawford, whose prospects of success was hopeless, although the electors of that state gave their votes in favor of Gen. Jackson. Knowing the deep interest you have always taken in Mr. Clay's welfare, I have been induced to give you for your personal satisfaction, these particulars. Mr. Clay I have known intimately for sixteen years; his public career is completely identified with every event of the country from that period to the present time, whether in peace or war. During the late war I have seen the House of Representatives, after having gone out of Committee of the whole, return to it again, for the sole purpose of affording Mr. Clay an opportunity (then Speaker) of putting down the desperate and infuriated advocates of British tyranny, insult and injury. But his enemies say Mr. Adams bargained with him. This assertion is without proof, and is destitute of truth, as it is of manly frankness. His superior qualifications placed him in the Department of State, and history furnishes no instance when so superior a man ever had to bargain for a high station, for which his peculiar fitness was evident to every one. In Maryland the Administration is daily gaining ground, and by the time the election occurs, I hope we shall be able to present an undivided front in their support."

TESTIMONY OF JAMES B. REYNOLDS, ESQ.—The following is an extract from a Circular letter of JAMES B. REYNOLDS, Esq., formerly a member of Congress from Tennessee, to his constituents at the close of the Session of 1824-25, which we take from Niles' Register, page 205.

At the period mentioned, Mr. R. was a warm advocate of the election of General Jackson to the Presidency, on account, as he said, of the "character, talents and services" of the General, and a firm and decided though honorable opposer of the claims of Mr. Clay. He was on the spot at the time the charge of "bargain, intrigue and corruption" was made against Messrs. Clay and Adams, and have an opportunity of knowing every thing in reference to the charge, and all the circumstances under which it originated. Testimony of this kind, and from such a source, must have weight with the candid and intelligent part of mankind, of all parties:

Extract from the circular letter of Mr. Reynolds of Tennessee to his constituents, in the year 1825.

After mentioning the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Reynolds says:—"This event I know, is contrary to your best wishes and I believe contrary to the will of a majority of the people of this Union. And if I am not greatly deceived in the disposition and determination of them the hero of New Orleans will be the next President, who shall preside over the destinies of this great and growing Republic. Tennessee, on this occasion did her duty. The delegation was unanimous

for her Jackson, it being almost the universal voice of their constituents. My course was consistent with your dignity and honor, and my own feelings. I found no concert or management among the friends of General Jackson. I sought for no combination, if any there were, to promote his election, by placing him under obligations beyond his duty afterwards to perform. I reiterated to every gentleman, with whom I conversed on the subject, his character, talents and services, and submitted his claims to their consciences and judgment. *If any improper combination, or corruptions have been employed in the elevation of Mr. Adams, it is unknown to me.* I should most inevitably have exposed it to public view. But, in the absence of ad proof, who has made me the arbiter of men's motives, and actions, and pronounce them infamous, because they differ with me on subjects of deep interest to the country, acting under the same solemn obligations of honor and duty which binds us all to Heaven? I hope the charges are unfounded. Men of great talents, who have heretofore stood high in the regard and affections of their fellow-citizens, for their patriotic and distinguished services, and who have been honored with the most important offices within the gift of the people, *and now enjoy them, ought not to be put down on slight ground of jealous suspicions.* But, it is possible to fix guilt by evidence, the business ought not to rest on news-paper issues, and the murmurs of the disappointed; for, much as I esteem and honor some of them, I would not hesitate a moment to hurl them from their high offices, in the manner pointed out by the constitution, I had no favors personally to ask of any of those eminent men, who might succeed to the presidential chair, I want, nor expect, no office.—My duty and obligations are exclusively yours while in your services.

Mr. Adams is a man of eminent and distinguished talents, and I trust will have an honorable, prosperous and happy administration, during the term of his election, for the benefit and glory of our common country. But it cannot be concealed that he is now placed in a singular and unpleasant dilemma, unknown to our political history. He has been elected president of the U. States, with a minority smaller than the votes of the electoral colleges to Gen. Jackson. This is a circumstance of great moment, and demands the serious attention of the people of this Union. The constitution ought to be amended, and the election given to the people; for I deem it of vital importance to the well being and prosperity of our country, that the chief magistrate should have, at the commencement of his administration, the confidence and esteem of at least a majority of his fellow-citizens.

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE GREEN.—The following is an extract from a letter published in the Nashville Banner of Nov. 13.h 1842, by JUDGE GREEN, now on the Bench of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Judge Green was a member of the Tennessee Legislature, and of the Jackson party, in 1827, when Brown's celebrated resolutions on the subject of "bargain, intrigue and corruption," was acted on, and

made a speech in favor of the resolutions, and against Mr. Clay. The *defence of the resolutions in the Senate*, devolved on the Judge, and his argument was printed and sent abroad in thousands of copies of "Extra Republicans," a paper which was then the organ of the Jackson party in Tennessee.

The letter of Judge Green, from which the following extracts are taken, was in reply to some reflections on the supporters of these resolutions, by the Nashville Whig:

It is poor reasoning, to say, that because the evidence *now* before the public is sufficient to exonerate Mr. Clay from the charge, it follows that previous to the publication of Mr. Clay's defence, there was no evidence against him. That is assuming the absurd position, that the accusatory evidence, must necessarily be connected *with*, and accompanied *by*, the exculpatory proof. As if an accusation may not be well made out by proof, and if the accused stand mute, be sufficient to convict him,—when at the same time he may be able to adduce ample testimony to explain away circumstances against him.—The argument of the "Whig," in the paragraph I have quoted, is equally untenable.

My purpose has not been to show that in 1827, the Tennessee Legislature had *sufficient* evidence of the facts assumed in Brown's resolutions, and accompanying argument; but to show, that though Mr. Clay *was* innocent of the charge—yet until he made that innocence to appear by his subsequent defence, circumstances were against him. These circumstances I alluded to in my speech, the substance of which was printed in the extra Republican.

Indeed, it is idle to assume, that there were no such circumstances, when Mr. Clay himself deemed the charge sufficiently grave, and rendered sufficiently plausible, to require from him an elaborate defence.

Let it be conceded that that defence was full, and satisfactory—that the letters of Gen. La-Fayette, Mr. Crittenden, and others, stating that Mr. Clay had, before Congress convened, declared that should it devolve upon him to choose between Mr. Adams, and Gen. Jackson, he should vote for the former, sufficiently show that his purpose was formed without reference to the office of Secretary of State; and therefore, that the charge against him, of giving his vote in consideration of that office is **GROUNDLESS**.

I have felt it incumbent upon me, holding the situation I do, to rescue my honor from the imputation the Whig casts upon it, and therefore request the publication of this defence.

NATHAN GREEN.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN A. ROGERS.—Col. John A. Rogers was a member of the House of Representative, of the Tennessee Legislature, from Hawkins county, in 1827, when this charge was made, and he took an active part in the deliberations of the House, then, as he did on all occasions. In the Nashville Union, the organ of Tennessee

Locofocoism, of Nov. 5, 1842, the editor of that print, under the head of "Powerful Witness," introduced Col. Rogers as a witness to sustain the charge of "bargain, intrigue and corruption" against Messrs. Clay and Adams, and compliments the Colonel very highly. The Colonel replied to him from Grenada, Miss., under date of Nov. 18, 1842. The editor of the Union, refusing to publish this letter, it appeared in the Nashville Banner of Dec. 5, 1842, from which the following extract is taken:

"When it was discovered by those who were so zealous to hurry through the House the preamble and resolutions, that my determination was to have action upon the resolution introduced by myself, an advantage was taken of my indisposition, and the resolution called up by a member (now dead) who was a warm advocate of the preamble and resolutions sent from the Senate, and a motion made by another advocate to indefinitely postpone the resolution of inquiry introduced by me, the friends and advocates of the preamble and resolutions voting with the mover, indefinitely postponing the resolution. Here the farce ended, which will fully appear on the Journal of the House of Representatives. I then became satisfied it was gotten up as a political "*kumbug*"—for effect at the time with a view of misleading the public mind.—I did not then believe the charge or report. I have since inquired into the facts in relation to the charge, and am fully satisfied there was no truth or any plausible foundation for such a report.

The expose given shortly after that occurrence by the Hon. James Buchanan, a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania, whose integrity and veracity you cannot doubt, and the frank and honorable acknowledgement of Carter Beverly of Virginia, published in 1841, who was a confidential actor in the scene, fully satisfied me that it was a slanderous fabrication, and one I am satisfied, no intelligent impartial American citizen will believe. I feel it a duty I owe to the citizens who have so often honored me with their confidence, (as I have been presented as a witness by the leading Democratic paper of the State) to speak the whole truth on that all important subject, and not to permit them to be misled as to my views and action in the business. I flatter myself with the hope, as you honored me in placing my name in front of those "powerful witnesses" of the House of Representatives, you will do me the justice of giving this communication, as part of my testimony, an insertion in your widely extended journal.—And accept my gratitude for the high expression of confidence you have expressed on the introduction of my name as a witness.

Very respectfully,

Your most ob't humble serv't.

JOHN A. ROGERS.

In addition to the foregoing, we remark, that the HON. ADAM HUNTSMAN, now a leading Locofoco in this State, and then a Jackson Senator in the Legislature, who voted for the resolutions of Brown, has

testified that he "HAD NO EVIDENCE THAT¹ THE CHARGES WERE TRUE." Beside this, we have the solemn asseration of Mr. GARRETT, made when he gave his vote for the resolutions, and which is recorded on the same Journal with it, that he "DID NOT KNOW THE CHARGES TO BE TRUE." Mr. Garrett declares on the Journal, page 179 that he voted for the resolution, "because he was in favor of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency, and because he believed such to be the wishes of his constituents." If any Tennessee Locofoco doubt these facts, we refer him to the Senate Journal for 1827—they can be had in the Clerk's office in every old county in the State.

CARLISLE BEVERLY'S RECANTATION.—The following letter from Mr. BEVERLY, of Virginia, the very man, who, of all others, gave circulation and weight to this foul calumny, finally *pins the basket*, in the defence of Mr. Clay :

URBANA, Middlesex County, Virginia.

DEAR SIR:—It will be no doubt a matter of some astonishment to you in receiving from me the present address. I will not preface it with any kind of apology, because, in doing it, I justify my mind in the discharge of an act of conscience and a duty that I feel the utmost pleasure in performing.

Although the time is quite far gone since I became very innocently instrumental in circulating throughout the country, a very grave attack upon your character and virtue as a gentleman, and certainly a very heavy one as a public man, I feel exceedingly desirous to relieve you, as far as I can, from the slander, and my own feelings from the severe compunction that is within me, of having been, though neither directly nor indirectly your personal accuser, yet that I was drawn indiscreetly into the representation of an attack upon you.

It is altogether unnecessary to enter into the minute circumstances, at so distant period, of how it happened, and the particulars of it all. The Public were at the time sufficiently informed why and wherefore, I became the relater of the assault to which I specially allude.

I did not solicit the account that gave the gross, abominable scandal of you, but merely asked if it was so, or could possibly be true. I had long before heard of it, and was at the seat of Government when it was represented to have occurred. The reason of my having mentioned it upon which the answer was given to me, was, that I thought it an infinite scandal upon the country if true; and, if not true, it would give you a fair opportunity of exculpating yourself. I had therefore two objects in view, which are easily seen; and from either or both I conceive that I ought to be exonerated, at least from any design to do you justice. Imagine yourself what motive I could possibly have had to injure you—a gentleman with whom I had no difference, with whom I had been variously acquainted, and though never intimately so, yet there was always an urbanity and interchange of civilities between

us that never failed to make quite a favorable impression upon me; and if it was not reciprocated, it was my misfortune. To strew difficulty in your way with design was utterly improbably, at least. You, a distinguished man in the eyes of the nation—what advantage could I have expected from a derision of you? Surely it was improbable.—I most assuredly and most certainly never entertained the smallest prejudice or unfavorable idea of you until the affair of the Fayetteville letter, that appeared under my signature; upon which was founded, I am quite sorry to say, the charge which galloped through the Union against you.

Your memorable pamphlet, and some letters that came out in your defence, were expressive of the whole transaction; and although I thought at the time that you had not properly conceived me, I studiously forbore to say more than had been expressed in my correspondence at Wheeling which Mr. Noah gave.

My entire object now is, a desire I have to be exonerated from the belief of any special desire to injure you; for, I again declare that I never felt the smallest degree of unkindness towards you, other than what was at the time impressed upon me by what had been communicated. I have never since the affair fallen in company with you but once, and that was for a moment only, and it took place in the Hall of the House of Representatives, when a ballot was going for a Public Printer, I was standing alongside of Governor Branch, then Senator of the United States, when you passed on at my back, and, without perceiving who I was, before you got up to us you asked how the ballot had gone, Mr. Branch had not attended to it, and I had just taken it down with a pencil. I handed to you the paper, and after looking at it you returned it, bowed and passed on. Mr. Branch then asked me if that was the first time you and I had met since the affair of the Fayetteville letter. I said yes. The matter then vanished, and I have never met with you since.

This letter is intended to show you that the long lapse of time, and the many growing circumstances of the country and Government, have long ago convinced me that the very greatest injustice was done you in the charge made. I had, too, an opportunity lately of reading over very calmly and dispassionately a file of newspapers containing the whole affair and carefully dilated upon it. Mr. Buchanan, who was represented to be your accuser, exhibited no proof whatever against you; and he even denied having ever made the charge upon you. I have discharged my mind in addressing myself so fully to you, and can only add that if a publication of this letter, can render you an essential service, (though I do not deserve it,) you have full liberty from me to let the public see it.

One circumstance I beg to assure you of, that whatever my verbal and written expressions of you were, (and I suppose I must have given much scope to both, though I recollect now nothing of what I did say,) I again say that I am most thoroughly convinced that you were most untruthfully, and therefore, unjustly treated, for I have never seen any evidence to substantiate at all the charge.

Before I take final leave of you, (as it may be, and, very likely will

be the last time that any intercourse will take place between us,) I must be allowed to make a few more observations, though I am quite sensible that my letter has already exceeded the proper limit; yet I hazard, with a gentleman of liberality, nothing, I am sure, in asking a little further indulgence. From the temper of the nation, and the peculiar state of things, it is presumable that you are to be the Whig candidate for the next election of President of the United States. You have I am sure, too high respect for public opinion, as you have too much veneration for the high dignity of that situation, to be negligent of it.—The greatest objection that has been yet started against you for that high post I am constrained to say hinges upon the old affair—which has been the subject of this letter; and I am sure, as far as I bore any influence, or the representation I made against you I sincerely hope it will be perfectly removed by what I have already expressed to you. I know a great many respectable, independent, high-minded politicians of the country, now extending to a great distance in the Union, that would have supported you through the thickest vapor that has hitherto cast a blind upon the nation but for the circumstances referred to. It can surely be now no longer a matter of doubt upon their minds; for he who was generally believed to be the circulator of the egregious slander against you, hereby revokes his belief of it, and unequivocally declares that it is unproved, and stands utterly unsupported to this time, a period of 15 or 16 years.—But, like all spirited malevolence, it will be still said by some, that, even in this explanation I have given you of the part I bore in it, there is an understanding between us, and that it is all designed for political effect. You and I can most readily meet the charge, I am sure. I have had no intercourse or interview (as is expressed in my letter with you for at least ten or eleven years—and there has been no sort of interchange between us.

But you and I have become old enough to expect all such matters to arrive, and are therefore prepared I dare say, for the coming of them. Then, let it be so—and I am sure we shall neither of us regard it.

I sincerely wish you health and happiness, and remain dear sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant.

CARTER BEVERLY.

To the Hon. HENRY CLAY.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—The declaration of Mr. BEVERLY, is certainly a very remarkable, as well as decisive statement, touching this memorable & slanderous accusation. It is very truly an ancient wrong redressed, as the Whig newspapers have said. Its publication seems clearly due, not only to Mr. Clay, whom it greatly injured, but to the country at large, still possessed in some quarters with a belief that the charge in question had been well grounded, and had been substantiated.

This letter, then, must forever disabuse all honest men—all men whose good opinions are worth enjoying, of any such impressions, and vindicate the eminent Kentuckian beyond all further possibility of doubt. The very makers and defenders of the charge have now confessed it

exploded and utterly untrue. And any man, rich or poor, bond or free, "high land or low land, prince or peer," who will reiterate this calumny after reading this mass of testimony, we hesitate not to pronounce a VILLAIN, in the most extensive meaning of the epithet.

What more can now be asked of the friends of Mr. Clay? By all means possible to men, his entire innocence is proven—the charge against him is shown to be groundless. And without multiplying remarks, we, as one of the friends and admirers of MR. CLAY, are willing to rest our appeal to the magnanimity of the PEOPLE in his behalf.

CHAPTER XI.

General Jackson's meditated war with France.—Mr. Clay in the Twenty-seventh Congress.—Mr. Clay's Speeches.—Mr. Clay an American.—Mr. Clay's private fortune.—The person of Mr. Clay—his manners—eloquence.—Mr. Clay the candidate of the people for the Presidency in 1844.—Gratitude—Ingratitude.—The Harrisburg Convention.—A Contrast.—Pyramid of Whig States—Evidence of Whig success in 1844—A Whig prediction.

[From the Life of Clay by Junius.

THE first instalment of the indemnity of 25,000,000 of francs, nearly \$5,000,000, as negotiated in the treaty of 1831, for French spoiliations on our commerce from 1800 to 1815, was not paid by reason of the refusal of the French Chambers to make an appropriation; but the King and his ministry desired to pay. As our Executive only had to do with the Executive of France in the matter, there was no difference between them, and some courtesy was due to the King of the French in his inability. But General Jackson in his message of December, 1834, recommended a law, authorizing *reprisals*, in case the French Chambers should not provide for the debt during the then approaching session. That this menacing attitude of the President of the United States should deeply wound the King of the French, and exasperate the French Chambers, and the nation, is not strange. Louis Philippe recalled his minister from Washington, tendered passports to our minister at Paris, and we were at once on the eve of war, when Mr. Clay brought in his celebrated "*French Report*," on the 6th of Jan, 1835, the result of which, in connexion with a corresponding resolution of the Senate, was the restoration of good feeling and the payment of the debt, while the honor of our country was maintained. This *third* time was the nation saved from the horrors and calamities of war by *Henry Clay*.—So bent was General Jackson on a fight with France, that he stayed at the Capitol till 12 o'clock the last night of the Session, urging an appropriation that would put the business in his own hands.

What that Congress did, has been shown in our first tract, *The Test*; what they *could not do*, by reason of treachery, everybody knows already. The Chief that was set up by the people, had been stricken down by the hand of the Almighty, and in his place came one, second only, in the violations of trust, to him who sold his Lord and Master for thirty pieces of silver.

But Mr. Clay, schooled in the misfortunes of his country, and never despairing of the republic, stood erect in the common disappointment, and witnessed the complete redemption of the country *deferred* again by an inscrutable Providence. Shoulder to shoulder with political associates, himself leader, he fought through the Extra-Session for the

principles and measures he had contended for through life, and though he had wished and purposed to retire from the councils of the nation at an earlier date, he yielded to the claims of duty, in the unexpected exigency of public affairs, to attend the next Session. Failing of the measures which the country waited for, and had a right to expect, Mr. Clay embraced this last opportunity to propose some amendments in the Constitution of the United States, and to bring forward his views, in the form of sundry resolutions offered to the Senate, as to the policy and measures required in the present state of the country. Each of these resolutions, eleven in number, was discussed at large by him the 2d of March, 1842. They regarded chiefly the revenue and financial policy of the Government, the disposal of the public domain, retrenchment and reform in the different branches of the public service, and proposed to require of the Heads of the departments detailed reports on these several modes of reform preparatory to legislative action.

The amendments of the Constitution proposed, were: 1. To restrict and limit the Veto power. 2. To secure to Congress the control of the Treasury, by vesting in that body the appointment of the Secretary. And 3. To prohibit the President from appointing members of Congress to office, during the term for which they were elected.

Having at the Extra Session given his aid for the repeal of the Sub-treasury, and labored in vain to re-establish a sound national currency system, and having finally at the Session of 1841-2, propounded a system of national policy in the resolutions above referred to, together with the aforesaid amendments of the Constitution, he bade farewell to the Senate on the 31st of March, and retired to private life.

In the speeches of Mr. Clay will be recognized the intellectual and moral stamp of this great American Statesman. *There* will be found, in his own peculiar diction, (wanting, indeed, the charm of his *manner*,) his American system, with the facts and reasons, by which he so ably set it forth, and so triumphantly defended it; his general views of national policy, as well as his views of particular questions; and most of the things that have made him so eminent and surpassingly influential in human society. Hundreds of his speeches, and some of his most brilliant efforts, have been lost, for want of a hand to record them at the time of utterance.

Although born in Virginia, and adopted by Kentucky, however proud of him they may be, he does not belong to them, be it known; but he is the property of the whole country, to which he has devoted the labors of his life. From the character of his mind, and the influence of his position, it is morally impossible that he should be infected with sectional prejudice. His heart, his soul is American—ALL American—and he belongs to the Union. Can another individual be found among us so ENTIRELY the property of the American people?

Sometime previous to 1820, Mr. Clay suffered deeply by suretyship, and was obliged to be absent from Congress two or three years, to get his affairs righted in the practice of his profession. No man has sacrificed more to his country in a pecuniary point of view, than Mr. Clay. As no lawyer ever had better chances, he might have acquired one of

the largest fortunes in the Union, if, instead of devoting his life to the public, he had spent it in his profession. Mr. Clay is frugal in his habits, though not parsimonious. "Here is a *hundred dollars*," said Mr. Clay to a young man, handing it over to him, when he came to consult him for the recovery of an estate that belonged to him by rightful inheritance. "Take this," said Mr. Clay, "and when you want more, call on me." This is a fair specimen of the man. Notwithstanding this liberality of disposition, Mr. Clay has saved a comfortable and unembarrassed estate.

Mr. Clay is tall, and slenderly, but tightly built, light-haired, and blue-eyed. He is accused by phrenologists of eagle-eyed perception. They aver, that he observes all, and sees through all, and is apt to hit game when he fires. Some one has also suggested, that his mother a long time ago gave him a "mellow—mellow horn" to wind. Certain it is, if it was not naturally musical, and of surprising compass, he has made it so by practice. It has thundered deep tones, piped shrill notes, and performed all manner of musical functions between these extremes. Though it may be a little worse for wear, it is good yet, and preferred to all others.

Mr. Clay has grace, dignity, and command—the first to charm, the second to beget respect, and the third to excite awe. Mix them all together, and they make a very perfect man.

As to his eloquence it must have been matchless in his youth, judging from its effects. The courts, juries, and Legislature of Kentucky, popular assemblies there and elsewhere, and both Houses of Congress, have successively, for nearly half a century, been swayed by him.

We have never yet seen the Whig man that could make up his mouth to say otherwise. The simultaneous rush of the Whig press, of Whig conventions, of Whig assemblies, formal and informal, of nineteen twentieths, if not ninety-nine hundredths of the Whig party throughout the Union, to put forward the name of Henry Clay for 1844, after the faithlessness of the Acting President was placed beyond question, is a most extraordinary fact; and the constantly augmenting power of this general feeling, is another remarkable fact. The suggestion, that it was unseasonable, cannot well be sustained. It was an extraordinary, unparalleled position of the public mind. All confidence in the unfortunate choice that had been made of the *second* on the ticket of 1840, who, by a melancholy event of Providence, succeeded as principal, was lost. The great and victorious party of 1840, was without a chief, and temporarily doomed to a most vexatious overthrow of their hopes. If they could not rally without delay, and concentrate their affections elsewhere, they would be scattered to the winds. So far from being unseasonable, it was *necessity*. It was the irresistible action of the instincts of self-preservation. And where else *should* they—*could* they go? Wait they *must*, but not to know what they might hope for in the end, was like the agony of final dissolution—like the winding-sheet of despair.

Most fortunately, fortunate beyond all example in such a case, there

was a man not unknown to fame—a man whom they *would* and *should* have had before—a tried and faithful man—a man equal to any and all emergencies, as proved by almost every variety of public service for forty years—who never faltered or made a mistake in the great exigencies of the nation—who filled the eye of the great world, and for whom the world cherished a profound regard—a man equally respected at home and abroad—and whose high endowments and rare gifts seemed to have been made and modelled for the occasion. Upon him, without pause, and with unexampled unanimity, they fixed their eyes and their hopes. A more settled, or more determined purpose has rarely, if ever characterized a state of the public mind. As well might you turn back the rivers, or roll back the tide of the ocean, as to oppose these accumulating forces.

If there has been occasion for the saying, that “republics are ungrateful,” we do not yet consent that the libel describes the American people. It was gratitude that led the people of this country into one of the greatest mistakes they ever committed. Gen. Jackson did us great, eminent, heroic service, as a soldier. Not to confess it, would indeed be ungrateful. And military achievements are always attractive, imposing and captivating with a susceptible and generous people. But the very qualities which made Andrew Jackson a great general, unfitted him to guide the helm of State. That strong and unbending will, which is the best qualification to lead an army, is the worst possible to preside over a true democracy, the will of all is to be consulted; that despotic authority which is necessary in the field, is most unsuitable in the Chief Magistrate of a free people; and that impetuosity which bears down a foe, in the onset of battle, will carry away the pillars of a republic. Here is the secret of the misfortunes of our country in having chosen for President such a man as Andrew Jackson. But it was *gratitude* that made him President.

While Gen. Jackson was the military idol of the nation, Mr. Clay was borne down by the calumnies already noticed—calumnies which for a long period, poisoned the public mind, but which have since been driven and chiefly eradicated from the field they occupied. He now stands before the whole country a patriot as spotless as he is disinterested, having the advantage, not only of his recognised merits, but of a man, who, emerging from a dark cloud of aspersion, justified by the certificates of his foes, and ennobled by the dignity of his bearing while suffering injustice, is received into the bosoms of a generous people with a thousand fold more enthusiasm, than would otherwise have been felt for him, with all his exalted gifts. “He is too good to be President,” was all that could be urged against his nomination at Harrisburg in 1839. We shall see whether such a libel on the American people will be proved, now they know what he is. Not till it is proved, will we consent to the charge of ingratitude on this republic towards such a man.

We may assume it as a principle, that a departure from democratic or republican practice, in the action of the representatives of the people, will result badly. All know that the Harrisburg Convention of 1839, dissatisfied the wishes of the great majority of their consti-

uency; and that the murmurs of the Whig party were alarming, when the result was announced. Nothing but the peculiar and distressing state of the country, so imperatively demanding a change in the Government, could have united them on such a nomination for the campaign of 1840. Nay, if Mr. Clay had not himself gone forward as captain, taken the colors into his own hand, and dashed into the thickest of the foe, at the head of his own legions, saying, "*it is for the country, and therefore for me, for us all,*" the summons to the onset would have failed. "If," the Convention shall lead them to the choice of another," (than himself,) "*as the candidate, far from feeling any discontent, the nomination will have my best wishes, AND RECEIVE MY CORDIAL SUPPORT,*" Such magnanimity is not common in the selfish squabbles of this world.

Such being the facts, the inference is fair, that the nomination generally desired by the people, would have been successful in a much greater degree. *Availability*, if anything other than the wishes of the people be brought into the question, is a dangerous doctrine to act upon in such a Convention, as it takes the question out of the people's hands, and is hostile to the true principles of democracy. Did not a *few*, a *very* decide the nomination at Harrisburg, *against* the wishes of the people? The result has been immeasurably disastrous. Who ever thought of *John Tyler* for the Vice Presidency, in the appointment of the members of that Convention? It was the *first* error which led to that fatality in the *second*. Once break loose from sound principles, and there is no knowing where we shall land. An impromptu nomination, made at the discretion, and on the responsibility of *representatives*, is a perilous one. We say not this for reproach or rebuke, but because we still have before us the selection of a *second* to him who is already pointed out by the acclamations of the people, and because the saddest experience of the nation, has taught us, that *that* selection may be momentous.

In 1829, at the end of Mr. Adams' Administration, it could be said, that Congress *had* been independent, and the dominant power in the republic, as the immediate representatives of the people ever ought to be. Then our commerce, agriculture, and manufactures were in a most flourishing condition, never so much so; our currency system was sound, the best in the world: labor was sure of employment, and of a fair reward; there were few brokers, usurers, and money-lenders; work, and not speculation, was the business of the people; our habits were simple and democratic; and our national honor and commercial credit, without a stain. We were a prosperous, wealthy, thriving, happy people. Such was the state of the country when its Government was conducted on the principles of Mr. Clay, and he a part of the Government.

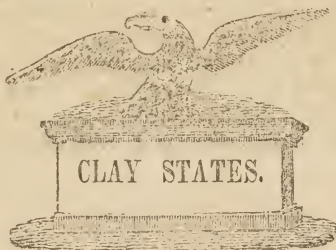
But in 1829, democracy was superseded by ONE MAN POWER; Congress became a mere Executive tool: a train of devastation, social and commercial, moral and physical, such as no other country ever experienced in so short a time, from similar causes, followed; our manufactures were nearly prostrated; trade was paralyzed; agriculture was depressed; the currency was ruined; general morals were corrupted;

our honor sullied and our credit gone; wild and ruinous speculations drove industry and economy from the field of enterprise, brokers and jobbers rode the nation out of breath and out of flesh, and the Government of the country, in all its branches and agencies, was put up at auction to the highest bidders in a system of utter political venality and crime.

"Look on *this* picture—then on *that*."

PYRAMID OF WHIG STATES.—We present our readers with a Pyramid of Whig States, that have gone for "HARRY OF THE WEST," in the Legislative, Gubernatorial, or Congressional elections. By turning to page 229 of this work, the reader will see, that these *fifteen States*, are entitled to **151** Electoral Votes, under the late apportionment law, in the election of President and Vice President of the United States—while **138** only are required to elect!

This glance at our capital in hand, our "stock in trade," will serve as an important matter of reference in the approaching contest;—it will give new and additional vigor to the hearts and arms of those who have never faltered, and ensure constancy and courage to those, who have felt like fainting by the way, in the dark hour of adversity. Let us see how stands our accounts. The following balance sheet, in the form of a Pyramid, presents an exhibit which must banish from the minds of all true Whigs, the last remaining doubt of our final success



OHIO
MAINE
GEORGIA
VERMONT
DELAWARE
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
MARYLAND
LOUISIANA
TENNESSEE
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
MASSACHUSETTS
NORTH CAROLINA

Here then are fifteen States, entitled to ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE ELECTORAL VOTES, every one of which is morally certain for HENRY CLAY! In this estimate we have not claimed a single State which any unprejudiced Locofoco will not readily grant us. We assume nothing which is not ours, and yet we start out in May next, with a positive and available capital of THIRTEEN more votes than are required to elect!

And now, where are the States our adversaries can claim with equal certainty? Van Buren will get New Hampshire *certain*; Calhoun is *sure* of South Carolina, and Col. Johnson *can* carry little Arkansas, if he try! Cass is as good for Michigan as if her vote had already been cast. Where can either of these Presidential aspirants name another State, certain, with, perhaps the exception of Missouri and Alabama? One of which is for Van Buren, and the other *claimed* for Calhoun!

We pray our Whig friends to look at this state of things—cast all doubts to the wind—act like men—fight like soldiers—and the battle is ours!

A POLITICAL PREDICTION.—Though we are not a prophet nor yet the son of a prophet, we nevertheless venture an important prophecy, twelve months in advance of its fulfilment. In addition to the above named 15 States, giving 151 Electoral Votes, we predict that Virginia, New Jersey, and New York, casting 60 votes more—in all, 211, will certainly be given to Henry Clay! Thus, out of the 26 States giving 275 Electoral Votes, Mr. Clay will get 18 States, giving 211 votes! Mark our predictions, and if it fail, denounce us as a false prophet!

APPENDIX.

[From the Jonesborough Whig of December 27, 1843.]

THE LAST JONESBOROUGH CARD!

ALLOW me, gentle reader, to say a very few words to you, through the columns of my paper, in vindication of my character, from a slanderous attack which has been made upon me, personally, by an infamous old blackguard, though a member of the Church to which I belong (*J. M. Smith*) and repeated by the TENNESSEE SENTINEL, ABINGDON VIRGINIAN, BOSTON OLIVE BRANCH and SANDERSVILLE (Ga.) TELESCOPE—four infamous papers, conducted by convicted liars, expelled Methodist Preachers, thieves and debauchees. This man Smith, of himself, is not worth notice; and but for the fact that he has been encouraged in his dirty course by a portion of the leaders of Locofocoism here—such as even go to the Legislature, and his slanders taken up in three other States and re published, I would treat him and his publications with the contempt they deserve, and have heretofore received at my hands. But I am no longer at liberty to remain silent in relation to a slander which has been published in four different newspapers, within the last three years, and that too in four different States Justice to my children, to the Church with which I am identified, and to the great political party with which I am associated, require a refutation of the foul slander in question.

The reckless originator of the slander alluded to, has been a constant writer for the Sentinel, for years, and in that time has villified every Methodist and Presbyterian Preacher whose name has been connected with Whig politics, whether justly or unjustly, and every female in East Tennessee who has dared to appear at a Whig Convention, whether they have resided in Jonesborough, Greenville, Elizabethton Rogersville, Rutledge, New-Market or Knoxville. In turn, I published his son *John Smith*, to the world, for having fled from this town to the “far off west,” for *stealing money out of Eason’s Store*, in the true style of Locofocoism.

The Editor of the Sentinel, I have published to the world, with the evidence, as guilty of almost every crime known to the criminal laws of the country; and by way of retort, he has taken up the slander of Smith, and published it, altho’ he confessed in an open Methodist Conference, in April last, that Smith’s character was such that even *he* could not endorse it!

Both the Editors of the Abingdon paper, are what has been mis-called *Reformed Methodists*, and from *sectarian* malice have been led to oppose me. One of them, a private member of that Church only, is a renegade from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and from the Locofoco party. He has been in the *prison bounds* of Abingdon, and lived in adultery with a notorious woman, to the annoyance of a decent wife. The other Editor of that paper, a Preacher, once *fled into private life*; for stealing some money from a Mr. Mayo of Abingdon!

The Reverend Editor of the OLIVE BRANCH, after making a violent assault upon me, I published to the world, as having been expelled from the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the sin—rather the Locofoco *virtue* of SEDUCTION! The more contemptible Editor of the Georgia paper, after an unprovoked attack upon me, I held up to public gaze, for his unmentionable and disgraceful associations, on one occasion, in Alabama. And now, forsooth, in order, if possible, to bring me down to their degraded level, these miscreants have copied into their columns the unfounded slander of Smith.

The object had in view in fabricating the story, the particulars of which will be given, parenthetically, was to provoke me to some act by which my enemies would be enabled to get at me in the Church, ‘a consummation most devoutly to be wished for,’ and one they have tried to effect, annually, for the last four years, but without the least degree of success.

To those who know me personally, I need scarcely say, it is unnecessary for me to repel such foul aspersions as those in question, but to those at a distance, who know me not, I beg leave to submit the following very short, but certainly *conclusive* documents:—

TO THE REV. W. B. WINTON:

SIR—As you are travelling in charge of the Jonesborough circuit, I take this method of charging Jeremiah M. Smith of the Jonesborough Class, with WICKED LYING and MALICIOUS SLANDER, in publishing to the world, in the Sentinel, and otherwise, that I was whipped in the vicinity of Nashville, during the time of the Convention of 1840, for stealing Jewelry. Upon this charge I demand his trial in the Church.

Respectfully, &c.

W. G. BROWNLOW.

Nov 6th, 1843.

MR. J. M. SMITH:—You will please be at the Church in Jonesborough, on Tuesday the 5th of December, at 10 o'clock, prepared to answer to the above charges.

Yours, &c.,

W. B. WINTON,

Preacher in charge, &c.

Nov. 6th, 1843.

When the day of trial came, the Circuit Preacher appeared with a Committee of five men, to set as triors—three of whom were Democrats, and two were Whigs, by whom Smith publicly stated he was willing to be tried. We had both served notices on other, to attend at divers points to take testimony. I procured all the testimony I desired, but he utterly failed to get any, and said he had none. He then denied having made any such charge against me, but then I produced two numbers of the Sentinel in which he had made the charge direct, over his proper signature, and two anonymous circulars in which he had repeated it, beside several other newspapers in which others had charged it upon his authority! He then declared he was not ready for trial.—The Committee enquired of him to know, if further time were allowed him, whether or not he could procure testimony to sustain his charge—to which he replied that he could not, *but that he could prove other things!*

As the *affirmation* was not made out by my accuser, I of course was not required to prove a *negative*, and here the trial would have terminated in the conviction and expulsion of Smith; but as my conduct while at Nashville had been misrepresented in various respects, I asked and obtained leave, to read the following documents, that I might be set right before the Church:

NASHVILLE, TEN., November 20th, 1843.

DEAR SIR:—I received your letter, just on the eve of leaving home on a trip of 8 or 10 days, from which I have just returned. That it might certainly receive attention, I sent it to our friend Norvell, with a note, in which I informed him I was just about leaving home for some days, and requesting him to comply with its injunctions.

You request my statement on the subject. The high regard I have for you, and the friendship existing between us, would lead me to do you any favor in my power. But, sir, it is wasting powder to make proof that you are not a thief, or that you have not been whipped for stealing. No man living will believe such calumnies. You should not deem them worthy of disproof, or dignify them with a formal array of evidence. Think of this.

Very sincerely, Your Friend,
F. K. ZOLLICOFFER.

WM. G. BROWNLOW, Esq.

ATHENS, TEN., November 9th, 1843.

WM. G. BROWNLOW:—Dear Sir, your letter of the 6th inst is before me. The object of your enemies about Jonesborough, is to provoke you to acts of rashness, but I hope you have prudence enough to defeat them. The story to which you allude, is too ridiculous to excite any other feelings than those of pity and contempt for its vile author; and if he be a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church as you say, it

proves that Church to have, at least, one unworthy member. He certainly did not fabricate it with an expectation of its being believed, and if he did you need no proof till the affirmation is made out, which will not only never be done, but never even *attempted*. As, however, you desire to go further than simply to defend, and prove a negative, I cheerfully subjoin a

STATEMENT.

I state and certify, that I was at Nashville during said Convention of 1840, where, during said Convention, I had the pleasure of associating with W. G. Brownlow. His conduct so far as it came under my observation, and so far as I heard from others, was unexceptionable, no charge of any kind being made against him. I have been at Nashville frequently since, and never heard there, from friend or foe, an accusation against Mr. Brownlow's moral character. I never before heard of the ridiculous story of his stealing jewelry. I know it is not possible, that such a thing could have occurred there, and not been heard of by me, particularly as I know he had there political enemies, anxious to assail his character, and eagerly watching for an opportunity.

SPENCER JARNAGIN.

MURFREESBORO,' TEN., Nov. 20th, 1843.

MR. BROWNLOW:—Being requested to state what we know of your conduct in this part of the State, in the summer of 1840, when a Delegate to the Nashville Convention, we remember that you and John M. Lea Esq, being called upon as East Tennesseans, addressed the Convention at Murfreesboro' a few days previous to the great Convention at Nashville.

We were frequently with you at Nashville during the Convention, where you went with the crowd from Murfreesboro.' You returned to this place after the adjournment of the Nashville Convention, to witness the great combat between Messrs. Grundy and Peyton.

As to the foolish charge of stealing jewelry, now brought against you, we never heard of it till we received your letter of the 6th inst.—We are certain that if any thing of the kind had ever occurred here, or even been charged, we would have heard of it, and if we had not, your political enemies would, and they would have given it to the world.

Had this wicked slander not gone beyond the limits of this State, it would need no attention from you, for even your enemies will never believe it.

DAVID W. DICKINSON,
WM. LEDBETTER.

The two following letters are from the Stationed Preacher in Huntsville, and the Presiding Elder of the Nashville District—gentlemen who have been acquainted with me for years:

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., Nov. 21st, 1843.

BRO. BROWNLOW:—A few days since, I received yours of the 10th inst., touching a publication made by Mr. Smith; in which, you say, he charges, that during the Convention of 1840 in Nashville, you were publicly whipped in the vicinity of that City for *stealing jewelry*.

In reply to your first question: "How long have you been acquainted with me, and from your acquaintance would you suppose me capable of such an act?" I have to say, that I made your acquaintance about twelve years ago, and from my knowledge of you, do not think you capable of such an act.

To your 2nd: "How long have you been residing in Nashville, and in what years did you live there?" I answer, I have resided in Nashville above four years; and lived there in the years 1836, '39, '41, & '42.

In answer to your 3rd question: "Did you not frequently see me in Nashville during the session of the Legislature in 1841;—was I not generally at Church; and was I not invited by H. R. W. Hill to his house to dine, in company with yourself and A. L. P. Green, the Presiding Elder of the Nashville District?" I saw you frequently in Nashville during the session of the Legislature of 1841—and met you several times at Church; you also dined at H. R. W. Hill's with A. L. P. Green then Presiding Elder of the Nashville District and myself, and you was by him invited to preach in the McKendrie Church.

To your fourth question: "Could any such thing have occurred at Nashville in reference to me without your having heard it?" I reply, that I am fully persuaded, if such thing had occurred at Nashville in reference to you, during the last ten years, I should have heard it; and I knew not, until I received your letter, that any one had ever charged you with having been whipped in any way for stealing any thing whatever, at Nashville or elsewhere.

Respectfully,

JNO. W. HANNER.

NASHVILLE, November 22nd. 1843.

W. G. BROWN LRW :

Rev. and Dear Sir—On my return to this city after an absence of several days, I found your favor awaiting me, and now hasten to answer.

You inform me that some person in your section of country, a member of the Methodist Church has published or circulated, a false and slanderous report on yourself (viz.) that you was whipped in the neighborhood of Nashville sometime since, for stealing *Jewelry*—and that a Religious Newspaper, called the *Olive Branch* has given credit to the report and that from the fact that the circulator of the report is a Member of the Church, and that credit seems to be given to the report of the newspaper abovementioned, has made it necessary that you should pay the subject a passing notice, and wish me to say something of what I know of you and your character and your conduct while in Nashville at the time in which you are accused of being whipped &c. In answer I would say, that as well as I recollect, my acquaintance began with you in 1827, and at first our acquaintance was intimate and on my part at least, agreeable, but of late years I have seen you but seldom, and the principal information that I have received, from you has been through the columns of political newspapers.

With respect to your conduct while in Nashville, I take pleasure in

saying that I neither saw nor heard of your *saying* or *doing* anything but what was in keeping with the character of a gentleman, and I may say a Christian.—As to your stealing Jewelry, or being whipped, I never heard or thought of any such thing, neither was there ever such a report in this part of the country, that I have heard of—and had such a report existed I should think that there could not have a single individual been found in this country who is acquainted with you, who would have given any sort of credit to it, I suppose some person has raised the report merely to tease you.

Myself and family are well, through mercy—may God bless you
Forever yours truly, and affectionately.

A. L. P. GREEN.

NASHVILLE, Nov. 15th, 1843.

MR. WM. G. BROWNLOW :

SIR—Your letter to Gen. Zollicoffer, touching some *foul slander* that had been propagated against you, has been shown me, and be assured that I take great pleasure in bearing my humble testimony in vindicating your character from the base accusation. I was at the Convention that assembled in this city, in August, 1840—and remained for many days after it adjourned. I did not hear anything of the charge preferred against you, and am persuaded that no such circumstance as reported could have occurred without my hearing, it and indeed the charge is so *utterly false and base*, that no one—even your vilest enemy here, would believe it for one moment. I know your associations whilst here were of the most honorable character, and I never heard aught against your character, during your visit to this city, at that, or *any other time*.

Very Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES C. JONES.

NASHVILLE, Nov. 12. 1843.

DEAR SIR:—The infamous charge which I learn from your letter to Gen. Zollicoffer, has been made against you by one of your neighbors, touching your visit to Nashville in August 1840, strikes me with the utmost astonishment. From a personal knowledge of your whole conduct on that occasion, I know the charge to be *utterly destitute of truth*. A few hours after your arrival, on the Saturday afternoon preceding the Convention, I found you at Mr. Samuel D. Morgan's with part of the Alabama delegation. At my urgent request, you consented to join a number of the Editorial fraternity, in attendance on the Convention, at my house, where you remained till Wednesday or Thursday of the succeeding week, and until you left for East Tennessee. Your conduct during the time was gentlemanly and entirely unexceptionable and agreeable, as all my Editorial friends who were with us, would doubtless bare me out if now called upon. Nor did I hear the remotest suspicion of or allusion to any word or deed of yours during your stay in town calculated to reflect discredit upon your character as a gentleman much less to impeach your name as an honest man. And sure I am, from my intimacy with "the leading Whigs of Nashville," that

if any thing like the transaction charged by your enemies had taken place, the facts would have been made known to me. I am equally sure that such a transaction had never been heard of *here*, till published in East Tennessee, and I venture to add, it will *never* be believed even by those who are bitterly opposed to you in politics, resident in Nashville.

You were here again in October 1841, for several weeks, in free and even *confidential* intercourse, not only with "the leading Whigs of Nashville," but with the Whigs of the Legislature, and no one, I presume, is so intolerant in his political sentiments as to believe, that such an association would have been countenanced or tolerated, if even the suspicion of the transaction alluded to above had taken place in 1840, had been entertained. You are at liberty to make such use of this letter as you may deem right and proper. I leave home in a few hours for New Orleans, and have had no opportunity since reading your letter to Gen. Zollicoffer, to confer with those, who, I presume are included by your accuser, among "the leading Whigs of Nashville." They will, I have no doubt, join me in acquitting you of the *infamous charge* referred to.

Very Respectfully,

C. C. NORVELL.

W. G. BROWNLOW, Esq. Jonesboro,' Ten.

NASHVILLE Nov. 17th 1843.

REV WM. G. BROWNLOW :

DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 6th inst., to Gen. Zollicoffer has just been submitted to me, in which I learn, to my great surprise, it has been publicly charged against you in substance that you were "taken up by the leading Whigs of Nashville, during the Convention of August 1840, for stealing jewelry, and tied to a cedar-tree in the vicinity of the city, and whipped and made to give up the property:" and I am desired to say what I know of the truth or falsehood of the charge.

It would be a difficult task with me to imagine a more UNFOUNDED SLANDER. I met you the evening before the Convention, horse in hand, and before you had gone to quarters—I was with you every day during your stay here, you were at my house at times, and dined with my family as Mrs. Foster told me, the day you started on your way home—you were here again at the meeting of the Legislature in 1841, and during that sojourn, spent two nights with me on my invitation. *Then, before nor since*, did I ever hear of the *false and slanderous* charge, not until it met my eye this evening in your letter to General Zollicoffer referred to above. Of its *utter falsity* I do not entertain a moments doubt: for it is impossible that the circumstance, so heinous and disgraceful could have occurred, and at the same time escape my knowledge, and the knowledge and observation of the thousands who filled this city on that occasion. I feel confident that the wicked fabrication, if it was now made public here, would surprise the people of Nashville of all parties, as much as it has surprised and astonished me. You can make any use you please of this faithful statement.

Your friend, and servant,

EPHRAIM H. FOSTER.

REPORT.

The Committee appointed to try the case of J. M. Smith, unanimously agree, upon the evidence produced by W. G. Brownlow, (See Documents) that the charge made by J. M. Smith, contained in the Tennessee Sentinel, IS WHOLLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION IN TRUTH, and that the proof produced and read by Brownlow, triumphantly acquits him of the charge made by Smith, in the Sentinel, *and that the said Smith is guilty as charged by said Brownlow.*—All of which is respectfully submitted.

Jonesborough, Tenn., }
December 5th, 1843. }

LANDON C. HOSS, [Whig.]
ISAAC G. WATSON, [Dem.]
JOHN T. SMITH, [Dem.]
SAMUEL MILLER, [Dem.]
JOHN LACKEY, [Whig.]

I read the above report to the parties, and informed Mr. Smith that he was no longer a member of of the Methodist Episcopal Church, his crime being such as is forbidden in our Discipline, and by the Word of God. From this decision J. M. Smith took an appeal to the Quarterly Meeting Conference, to be held in Jonesboro,' on Wednesday the 20th December, 1843.

W. B. WINTON, Chairman.

J. D. GIBSON, Secretary.

Well, gentle reader! (for gentle I presume you to be, in the perusal of so grave a matter as this—and if you are otherwise this calm address is not made to you)—the time for holding the Quarterly Conference arrived—a full Conference, composed of men of both political parties—and after a patient and full investigation of the whole affair, that body adopted the following preamble and resolutions, by a *unanimous* vote:—

WHEREAS, J. M. Smith, a member of the Methodist Church in Jonesboro,' has been expelled by a committee of five, on a charge of *wicked slander* and *malicious lying*, preferred against him by W. G. Brownlow, and whereas said Smith has appealed to the Quarterly Meeting Conference for the Jonesborough circuit now in session (Dec. 20, 1843.) in the town of Jonesboro', therefore,

Resolved, by this Conference, that from the abundant evidence before us, the charge made by Smith, against Brownlow, upon which Brownlow charged him, is without foundation in truth, or any pretext for its fabrication and circulation. See charge.

Resolved, that the decision of the Committee finding Smith guilty, be, and the same is hereby confirmed, and that this preamble and these Resolutions, be spread upon the records of this conference, and that a copy of the same be furnished said Brownlow, in justice to him, and that a copy be furnished to the C. A. & Journal, Richmond Christian Advocate, and S. W. C. Advocate, for publication, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of this Conference.

C. FULTON, Chairman.
S. GREER, Secretary

In addition to all this testimony, Smith himself, when he was about

to be disgraced, by his expulsion from the Church, rose up in open Conference—confessed he had done wrong—and declared that he never believed the foul charge himself! And had it not been for the facts, 'hat the conference had no confidence in the sincerity of his *pretended* sorrow, and that he had long deserved expulsion, they might have been disposed to sympathise with him. They, however, had either to confirm the decision of "the court below," or grant him a new trial, and they chose to do the former.

The proof of this groundless calumny is now before the public—proof which shows most conclusively, that there never was, even the shadow of *suspicion* upon which to fabricate a tale of the kind—*ocular* and *cutaneous* proof, from the highest sources in the State, of its entire falsehood.

Persons at a distance will wonder why I did not notice this slander sooner, *and in some other way*, as it has been repeated by its filthy author for more than three years in succession. The author, Smith, though a constant writer for the Sentinel, and a prominent member of the Locofoco party in this town, is wholly destitute of character, save what character his membership in the Church gave him—he is ragged and lazy, and without credit; having neither the sensibilities of man or beast. Hence, the feelings which have induced me to withhold from the public any notice of *him*, still operate—feelings I assure the public in which *he* has no share.

And now, I have no controversy with Smith; and had not other papers taken up his slander, and *affected* to believe it, there is no point beyond which considerations of contempt, for this old loafer and vagabond, would cease to influence my silence in reference to anything he might charge. His opinions, and the opinions of as many more *like him*, as could stand between the Gulf of Mexico and the Cod Fisheries of Maine, upon any subject personally affecting me, would be a matter of supreme contempt, if it were of importance enough to inspire even *that* emotion.

In conclusion, my vindication in this matter, with all honorable men, is now complete. This assault I have termed the last Jonesborough card; and in fabricating this slander, faction and party spirit have certainly done their worst. Combined party influences, acting on a few reckless prints, have caused them to give it circulation, when, at heart, their conductors did not believe one word of the whole story. Time, which tests all things, has seen Truth rise in his giant strength, in this affair, throw off the trammels of party spirit, and personal hatred, and do justice to one who has "*faught with beasts at Ephesus*," and for a series of years, has had an eye constantly and exclusively to the good of his country. And in the midst of all the snares set around me, I content myself with the poetical and philosophical consolation in regard to the malice of my foes, that

"Time at last set all things even,
And if we do but watch the hour,
There never yet was human power
Which could evade if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong."

[From the Jonesborough Whig of February 8, 1843.]

"MURDER WILL OUT"—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION.

In the Spring of 1840, a vile and cowardly attempt was made to assassinate the undersigned, who then resided in the village of Elizabethton, by his personal and political enemies, of whom he believes that arch hypocrite, *L. C. Haynes*, to have been the chief. This man, together with a few other kindred spirits of his, has industriously sought to make the impression that the attempted assassination was the work of the undersigned, and his personal and political associates, in order to destroy said Haynes and his associates, in public estimation. The design of this publication is to convince every impartial and unprejudiced mind, that such an inference is wholly inadmissible. And if, in giving a brief history of this affair, together with the testimony which has come to light, the undersigned succeeds in showing where *guilt* is apparent, he will expect, and in return demand the requirements of *justice*.

For this recourse to the "immortality of print," at this day, by the undersigned, Mr. Haynes may blame himself and his prompters. This course is deemed necessary by the writer, not only as a protection to himself against the slanders of the malicious, but likewise to those of his friends who have been unjustly assaulted, by this band of assassins. In the face of the facts, therefore, which the writer proposes to submit to the public, it will require no ordinary measure of credulity, to believe either Haynes or his brother-in-law, Doct. Powell, innocent of a principal agency in this matter.

The undersigned, in submitting the facts in this case, intends brevity and not a war of words—not a war which begins with *words*, and ends with *words*—but a war of *facts*—a war in which *truth* is the weapon employed. Of course the writer wages no other war with a band of unprincipled men, who hold themselves irresponsible in person for the licentious liberty of their slanderous tongues;—men, who shelter themselves from responsibility under the plea of having "obtained more Grace," or that of having made a profession of religion—and crying out against the immorality of the practice of carrying concealed weapons?

Mr. Haynes is now a licenced preacher, it is true, but he has "stolen the livery" of the profession, to give him access to the unsuspecting confidence of others. His deportment is any thing else, than the indication of a devout and serious mind. The writer knows him well and sees too plainly, that while with his lips he affects to be the servant of the people for Christ's sake, his heart is imbued with a lying and hostile spirit. Already with the people, have "coming events cast their shadows before," and Mr. Haynes feels the necessity of something else, than clerical vestments, to vindicate him before the public. He cannot go "unwhipt of justice" any longer, and thereby continue unsuspected, to practice his impositions upon the community. The moral sense of the community is shocked at his conduct, and the current of popular sentiment has set in strong against him. A man who has sought to villify others, as he has done, under a hypocritical pretention to piety, whose soul is steeped in moral pollution, cannot now expect the public

to judge as favorably of him, as they would of a more unostentatious and less pretending man.

It is not because he is of the Locofoco party, that the undersigned thus expose him, had he been of any other political persuasion, the same justice would have been done him by the writer, under similar circumstances. Neither are the religious principles of the Methodists less true, because Mr. Haynes, a newly licenced preacher is an impostor; not a religious sect in the country could stand, were it to be tested by this rule. There have been among all sects impostors, who like this man crept into their respective churches, with a view to accomplish what they could not otherwise effect. Even in the days of the Apostles, there crept into the Church, "wolves in sheep's clothing, who spared not the flock." But the cause of Christianity, with the developments already made, has nothing to fear from the vile and polluted touch of this ignominious impostor.

EDITOR OF THE WHIG. STATEMENT

On Monday night of the Circuit Court in Elizabethton, March 2nd, 1840, between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock, of a dark and cloudy night, while I was sitting by my fireside writing, a gun of some description was fired at me, through the window on the back part of the house, out of the garden—a distance of some twelve or fifteen steps, loaded with two small rifle or pistol balls—breaking one pane of glass, and one small bar of the sash, some twelve inches from the sill of the window. Both balls passed near my breast, over the candle stand, on which I was writing—one entering into the chimney piece, and the other penetrating the ceiling close by—both of which were afterwards extracted by the company present. I instantly sprung to my feet—and the back door of the room being open, dashed into the garden—drawing a pistol from my bosom—and pursued the villian in the direction I heard him run through some dry weeds, and over a few old planks, to a low gap in the garden fence—and as he was crossing, fired at him, a distance of not exceeding twenty steps.

From various considerations, I was induced to expect an attack during the week, but expected an attempt would be made to *mob* me—not to shoot me in this way.—Accordingly, and at my request, JAMES W. NELSON, was in the house with me, and had come to spend the night. Mr. Nelson from a slight indisposition, occasioned by headache, had thrown himself on the bed, but with his pistol in his pocket. he had lain down on the bed, about three or five minutes before the fire. He sprang to his feet instantly, and after I fired, or as I fired passed me, and snapped at the same villian three times, between the time of his crossing the garden fence, and the fence of the outside lot. Upon returning to the light, however it was ascertained that Mr. Nelson, in running and cocking his pistol, lost the cap off, and had each time snapped without a cap.

My wife, a black boy, and a young lady, living with me, were in the kitchen, not exceeding ten or twelve steps from the house door, baking some pies, with a good fire and the kitchen door open. The

nurse was in the house with me, and said, that at the moment of the report, she was in the act of laying the child into the cradle.

There seems to have been two villians concerned, though but one is believed to have crossed into the garden. H. O. Macken, my next door neighbor, upon hearing the report of the gun or pistol, which ever it may have been, ran out into his back yard, and heard one man crossing his lot, towards the River, and making in the direction from my lot. The next morning, in company with James W. Nelson, and various other citizens, I examined the tracks of two different persons, the one about common size, the other quite large—the ground being a light, sandy soil.

W. G. BROWNLOW.

“I hereby certify, that the foregoing statement by Mr. Brownlow, of the shooting into his window—of my being at his house, on the bed—of the part I acted—and of the other statements therein named, is correct, as I personally know. I could and would, if required go into further particulars, but the above statement gives all the facts, and the substance of what I would have to state. I have ever been satisfied as to the source whence the shooting came, and concur with Mr. Brownlow in his suspicions of its origin.

JAMES W. NELSON.

“I do hereby certify that I was at Wm. G. Brownlow’s house, on the Monday night of the March Term of the Circuit Court in Elizabethton, in 1840; and that after I had returned home and had been seated some 8 or 10 minutes, I heard the report of a pistol or gun in the direction of Mr. Brownlow’s house, whereupon my hearing him call for myself and Nelson, I sprung up and ran into my back yard, when I saw the flash of Mr. Brownlow’s pistol, after which I heard the footsteps of one or more persons crossing the upper end of my lot.

The situation of my lot is such that a person would have to cross it, in running from the back door of Mr. Brownlow’s then residence into the main street.

H. O. MACKEN.

Nov. 20, 1840.

DEFENCE OF HAYNES.

The defence set up by Haynes, against the charge of being concerned, will be found in the following extract of a letter, published in the “MURFREESBOROUGH TIMES,” of August 29th, 1840, over his proper signature. The reader will see that he makes false charges, charges, never alleged by his opponents, and then answer them:

“He has charged us with an attempt to *assassinate* him! It is believed here, that if any such attempt was ever made, that it was perpetrated by no one else, than by the Rev. William G. Brownlow. Thus he stands in the estimation of hundreds of the first men of East Tennessee, as the infamous perpetrator of an attempt at his own mock assassination. Hear the circumstances.

1. He says, that he received intelligence of his contemplated assassination two weeks before it was to transpire, on the Monday night of the

circuit court. The people here think, that if any man had intended to have assassinated Mr. Brownlow privately, that he would not have informed him of his intention to do so, on a certain night—but would have kept it a profound secret in his own breast. But it was not kept a secret, and therefore it is reasonable to be supposed that, Mr. Brownlow originated the scheme in his own heart—perpetrated the deed with his own hand, that he might once again command the commiseration and sympathies of the people.

2. As he says that he was informed the assassin would do, he accordingly came on the said Monday night of said Court, and at 8 o'clock as he sat writing by the fire *fired* in upon him, the people here think, that no man would have selected a public occasion at 8 o'clock at night upon which to have perpetrated a crime so horrible—and that Mr. Brownlow having been informed that this same Monday night, was the night of his intended assassination, could not have been writing in view of immediate death, any thing else than his last will and Testament—and that nothing less than a desire to have departed to an unknown world could have induced him to have left unclosed his window on that evening.

3. He says, that the assassin after having fired on him, walked off and sat upon the yard pailings, and remained there, until he Brownlow, went out and fired a pistol at him once and some other gentleman snapped three times. The people here think, that after firing, the assassin would have immediately fled. They cannot believe, that he would thus have sat in perfect indifference while pistols were firing and snapping around him. And it lastly has been said by other gentlemen, that Mr. Brownlow could not have been sitting where he says he was and have escaped the ball."

To the foregoing statement by Haynes, we add the *sworn testimony of Ben Dulaney, before Turkey town Bill Carter*, published by Haynes, in the Sentinel of Nov. 14, 1840, which constitutes his defence and which is all we understand him to rely upon for evidence to acquit him of guilt in this affair. Let the reader examine carefully both sides, and he will see where suspicion rests:

"Having been called upon to give a statement of facts, relative to the charge made by the Rev. William G. Brownlow, against Landon C. Haynes, of an attempt to assassinate him at Elizabethton, on the Monday of the circuit court for 1840, I now state that I was at Mr. Brewer's hotel in Elizabethton on the said Monday night, and *distinctly* heard the reports of two pistols or guns, in the direction of Mr. Brownlow's house, which were nearly simultaneous; at which time, I *was engaged in conversation with the said Haynes*, at Mr. Brewer's hotel aforesaid and do further state, that from *my personal knowledge* said L. C. Haynes could not have been present at Mr. Brownlow's, at the time the reported attempt at his (Brownlow's) assassination was to have been made.

B. L. DULANEY.

August 30th, 1840.

Personally came, Benj. L. Dulaney, with whom I am well acquainted.

ted, before me William Carter, an acting Justice of the Peace, for Carter county, and made oath that the above statement of facts is true, as above stated. This 31st August, 1840.

WM. CARTER, J. Peace."

OUR REPLY.

Having given the *defence* of Haynes, we next subjoin the testimony of our witnesses without comment, leaving the public to draw their own inference :

ELIZABETHTON, Carter County, Nov. 16, 1840.

Under a sense of feeling that justice is due to all men, I am alone induced to give the following statement of facts. On Monday night of our last March Circuit Court I was at Mr. Brewer's tavern, where there was divers persons, some of them seemed engaged warmly in political discussions, and in a few minutes, Dr. Joseph Powell rose from his chair, said to Col. Landon C. Haynes "we had better go," or something to that effect, and as he passed by him he *touch'd him on the shoulder* and they walked to the front door of the house where Benj. Dulany was, they all three stood and talked a few minutes in the door, then they stepped to the sign post of the tavern, they there seemed to hold a chat, a few minutes longer, and Doct. Powell and Landon Haynes set off towards the court house along the street, and Dulany returned into Mr. Brewer's house. I then came home and in a few minutes I stepped in the porch, next the main street, just as I stepped out I heard the report of guns or pistols, as I supposed and thought the sound was in the direction of Mr. Brownlow's. I then returned into the house and went to bed, and in a short time I was told whilst in my bed, that some person had shot at Brownlow through his window. Witness my hand, the date above written,

JAMES P. T. CARTER.

ELIZABETHTON, Nov. 20th, 1840.

REV. WM. G. BROWNLOW:—Dear Sir, You request me by my friend Fletcher, to state what I know in relation to a matter of controversy between yourself and Col. L. C. Haynes.

You ask me to say whether or not Col. Powell and Haynes were in Benj. Brewer's House, at the time a Pistol or Gun was fired at you the Monday night our Circuit Court, at March term 1840. I was boarding at Esq. Brewer's, at the time this occurrence took place, and was in the Bar-room with several gentlemen together with Cols. Haynes and Powell, *who I unhesitatingly say left the House in company previous to the report of the Gun or Pistol.*

This communication is made to you sir, not for the purpose of offending any individual, but in justice to yourself.

I am, with respect, yours, &c.

DAVID W. CARTER.

PIEDMONT FURNACE, Nov. 28th, 1840.

DEAR SIR :

Yours of the 18th inst, is before me. In answer to your inquiry in relation to your impressions of the person or persons who

attempted to assassinate you, during the circuit court at Elizabethton, Tenn., in the spring of 1840, I remark, that at the time of the firing of the pistols or guns, I was in the back room of the building which I then occupied with my family, *a few minutes after the reports of the guns or pistols*, it being about 8 o'clock at night. I heard some person or persons cry out at the top of their voice, "midnight assassins." I hastened to the store-room where I had left my son, H. P. Murphy, S. Patterson, T. J. Powell and William Rockhold, Jr. They had stepped out on the platform, in front of the Store. I inquired what that hollering meant. Some one spoke and said that some person had shot at Brownlow, and that Garland and Robert Powell were quarrelling. Meantime Landon Haynes and others, came to where we were standing. Haynes as did others of the party, who were opposed to Brownlow, appeared to be *much agitated*, while those who were friendly towards the latter, seemed to be composed and collected. This agitation which was so apparent, caused me at first to suspect that they had some knowledge of the awful deed; but on second thought, I think it might have been produced from the fact that Robert W. Powell was in a dispute with Mr. Garland.

I should not have made the statement which I have, only from the fact that I see an effort making to induce the public to believe that the whole matter originated with yourself. This belief may be entertained abroad, but certainly not in this section of the country, for all the circumstances connected with the case, go to establish the fact that some person attempted to assassinate you. From my long acquaintance with you, your own statement would be sufficient to satisfy my mind. But the public have the concurrent testimony of James W. Nelson, who was with you at the time, and who is above suspicion in point of veracity.

Yours, Respectfully.

A. MURPHY.

Being called on by Mr. W. G. Brownlow, to state what I know relative to his suspicions as to Landon C. Haynes having shot at him, after night during the week of the circuit court in Elizabethton, last Spring, I have thought proper to state that I, together with T. J. Powell Samuel Patterson, and William Rockhold Jr. were in my father's store on the public square, where I had been engaged all day in selling goods, when, somewhere about 8 o'clock we were suddenly called to the door by the sound of a voice exclaiming "muderers, midnight assassins," &c, or words to that import. There was an unusual rush, apparently from all quarters towards Brownlow's residence, and on inquiry, some one passing by, said that Brownlow had been shot at through his window. Immediately Landon C. Haynes came up from the Direction of Dr. Powell's residence, and seemed as did others of the party present, opposed to Brownlow, *greatly agitated*. He forthwith enquired, with seeming great surprise, and a faltering voice, what was the matter, and what shooting that was. On being told that Brownlow had been shot at through his window, he spoke of it as a very strange circumstance, wondered who could have done it, and after making some other remarks, all of which I do not now recollect, he went out of my presence. About the same time two other gentlemen walked up

before the store door, one of whom I took to be Mr. Brewer tavern keeper at Elizabethton, and who remarked quite composedly, addressing myself, my father, and others, that such proceeding were out of the question, and asked whether the citizens of the place ought not to unite and put a stop to such conduct.

HAWKINS P. MURPHEY.

Nov. 28th 1840.

CARTER COUNTY, Nov 21st, 1840.

This is to certify that a few days previous to March court in 1840, I asked Landon C. Haynes to loan me a pistol, to which he replied, "*I have but one and I intend to keep that for Brownlow*" After which, he spoke of Brownlow's parents, and other relatives in severe terms, and seemed greatly embittered against him.

Some three or four days after the above interview with Haynes, I went from this county to Athens in McMinn county, where I read in the "WHIG," an account of Mr. Brownlow having been fired upon through his window, after night, which instantly brought to my recollection the above expression of Col. Haynes. Given under my hand the day and date above mentioned.

GEO. W. DUNCAN.

MARION, VA., Feb'y 5, 1841.

Having been requested to state the facts in relation to an attempt made upon the life of Wm. G. Brownlow, this is to certify, that from the circumstances, together with former threats, as also from certain reports, that it is my firm, and deliberate opinion that Landon C. Haynes, is the very identical man, who made the attempt, or at least who encouraged others to execute this dastardly and fiend-like attack, when the sable curtain of darkness had screened him, from public view, upon the life of a fellow being. I furthermore certify, that the charge of Brownlow's having perpetrated the act, of which Haynes is, as I believe justly accused, or of having obtained some friend to do it for him, is false,—knowingly false, and could only have originated in a heart malignant and corrupt. I denounced Haynes and the Powells next morning, in the street and to their faces, as the guilty miscreants, as the citizens of Elizabethton well remember. Given under my hand and seal, this 5th day of February, 1841.

VALENTINE GARLAND.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The evidence of Haynes' guilt in this matter, and the respectability of the witnesses, we have introduced, all and singular, have from that day to this, induced us to view him as an assassin, and to treat him as such. The only *proof* of his innocence, as given by himself, is the statement of Dulaney, who, in those days, never drew a sober breath,—and this statement is set aside by the certificates of the two Messrs Carters, sons of A. M. Carter, and gentlemen whose characters can't be assailed with any success. The other six witnesses, with the exception of Messrs Garland and Duncan, are members of the same church to which Haynes belongs, and of unquestionable veracity. Mr. Garland is a practical Printer, and is well known in this section of the country, as a man of truth. Mr. Duncan is a school teacher, of Carter county,

and a young man of the first standing in point of morals and veracity.

One other remark and we are done. The next morning after the shooting, Mr. Gaston Powell, the uncle of Dr. Powell and Haynes, was confined to his bed, where he remained for three months or more, owing to his having pitched out of the upstairs window of the Doctor's house, as his friends alledged, in a drunken frolick. Since that time, he confessed to Edmond Williams, Samuel Angel (we believe) and other gentlemen, that we shot him! He was very drunk when he made the admission, and these gentlemen were about assisting him in mounting his horse. We do not know that he was the man we fired at, or that our ball took effect, but we believe such to be the fact, and until he proves to the contrary, by having his person examined by competent and disinterested witnesses, we shall continue in this belief, as will many others. It is due to this old gentleman that he submit to an examination; and if he proves to be innocent we will do him the justice to publish his innocence. We have never applied to any of the gentlemen present, when he stated that we had shot him, for a certificate to that effect, but will do so if the fact is disputed.

For the reasons given in this publication, we believe Haynes to be guilty of a *knowledge* of this attempt to assassinate us, if he did not *directly aid and abet* in the nefarious work—to which latter opinion we incline. And for these and other reasons, we have no confidence in him, and cannot and will not, whether in or out of the Church, repose confidence in him, or extend to him the hand of fellowship.

From the Jonesborough Whig, of May 20th 1840;

OUR LATE RENCONTRE.

BELOW we give the statements of four gentlemen who witnessed the fight between ourselves and Haynes, on Thursday last. We submit no other account of the affray, than that which these gentlemen have given, believing their statements to be correct, and them better qualified to give the particulars, under the circumstances, than we are. Beside we write in some pain, supported in our bed by a chair and some pilloswe.

Our motive for approaching Haynes in the way we did, was to induce him either to take back an insinuation he had published against our mother, or to render personal satisfaction for it. Knowing our mother to have been a correct woman in every respect—to have died a christian—and to have been in her grave twenty-four years—no man *can* or *shall* assail her character, or disturb her ashes with impunity.

Notwithstanding, we knew Haynes not to be possessed of one honorable principle—and to have been guilty of attempting to assassinate us—we nevertheless offered him an honorable fight—offered him time to draw his pistol and defend himself like a man. But with that cowardice which has ever characterized his short and infamous career, as well as those who are associated with him, he denied three times, having arms, and never pretended to exhibit his pistol till he saw we had shifted ours into the wrong hand, and had only a cane to use upon him.

When we had ended the contes, those few houses who have all along harbored the villain, and used him as a tool, in a political poi-

of view, rallied around him; and one *perjured* youth—one *mixed-blooded* mechanic,—one *debauched store-keeper*, and one or two young Democratic *thieves*, accompanied him out of town as a sort of *life-guard*, rejoicing at the prospect of our death. True, we received a severe wound, but we trust in a few weeks at most to show them that their boastings are premature:

MR. EMMERSON'S STATEMENT.—“On the 14th day of May 1840, I was sitting on the steps of the porch in front of the store of R. L. Blair, & Brothers, in Jonesborough. Mr. Brownlow was sitting in a chair on the pavement. Mr. Morrison and Mr. Charles Meek was sitting on the porch. We were all engaged in conversation. I saw Mr. Brownlow rise from his chair and step briskly across the street entering the pavement near the front of Kenney's store, looking up the street towards Crawford's store, and drawing his pistol just about the time he stepped on the pavement. I saw Landon C. Haynes walking along the pavement in the direction from Crawford's to Kenney's and so as to meet Mr. Brownlow. About the time Mr. Brownlow drew his pistol, Haynes stopped, holding his right hand behind him which was the position in which he held it from the time I first saw him. Brownlow asked Haynes if he had his pistol ready. Haynes replied no. Brownlow said I have mine ready, Sir you see it, holding it up at the same time, but not presenting it at any time during the conflict. They were then from ten to fifteen steps apart. Brownlow advanced towards him and asked him if he had not his pistol behind him. He again replied no, or language to that effect. Haynes stepped back some two or three steps. Brownlow approached still nearer and asked him a third time, if he had not his pistol in his hand behind him. Haynes answered that he had not. Brownlow was at this time near enough to have struck or shot Haynes without any difficulty, but when Haynes for the third time denied that he had a pistol, Brownlow then changed his pistol to his left hand, and shifted his stick into his right, taking hold of it below the joint where the sword fits it. Brownlow then asked him if he would retract what he had said about his (Brownlow's) mother. I did not distinctly hear Haynes' reply but thought he had declined doing so. Brownlow raised his stick and struck Haynes. Haynes then fired his pistol which he had held concealed under his coat. I do not know which occurred first—the blow with the stick or the report of the pistol. I think they were simultaneous. Haynes did not use his left hand in cocking the pistol, nor did he cock it in my presence. Had he done so I believe I could have seen it. I saw the pistol after the fracas, laying on the ground. I believe it was a pocket rifle, with the lock underneath, and do not think it could be cocked with one hand. After the pistol fired, the parties closed. Brownlow struck him while they were *in grips*, with his stick over the head. Haynes took hold of Brownlow's pistol. Brownlow got it away from him, held Haynes' head under his left arm, and struck him several times on the head with the pistol. Haynes when he closed in with Brownlow,, threw him against the railing, but Brownlow turned him from the railing and got his left arm around his neck as above stated. The parties were separated by Col. Jackson. I did not believe that Haynes' ball

had taken effect, nor do I imagine that any one else thought so, as Brownlow seemed to fight very vigorously. Had it been known he was shot, I presume the bystanders would have interfered sooner. So soon as the parties were separated, Haynes went off, leaving Brownlow standing on the pavement against the railing. About the time Col. Jackson proposed to part them, I discovered blood on Brownlow's pantaloons, and saw the bullet hole, which was about the centre of the thigh, three or four inches below the groin. I saw that Brownlow had very little use of his leg, and Jesse J. Williams and myself assisted him across the street to the store of Messrs. Yancey, Gammon, & Co, where we put him on a bed in the counting room.

This 15th day of May 1840.

THOMAS B. EMMERSON."

MR. MORRISON'S STATEMENT.—"I have heard the above statement made by Mr. Emmerson read, and concur with him in all the facts and opinions therein expressed, except that I did not see that Brownlow was wounded until after the separation. When Brownlow asked if Haynes would retract what he had said about his mother, Haynes referred him to his hand-bill. I saw Haynes throw his pistol away immediately after he fired. My impression is that Haynes fired before Brownlow struck him. During the conflict, and after the pistol fired, I heard Brownlow say don't part us. *I saw Haynes come out of Crawford's door before Brownlow rose. Haynes then had one or both hands behind him, under his coat tail, and continued to hold his right hand in that position until he fired.* From this circumstance, and from the fact that the lock of the pistol was underneath, I believe that Haynes had his pistol cocked when he came out of the store, and continued to hold it so until he fired, although he denied having a pistol three times, as stated by Mr. Emmerson.

This 15th day of May 1840.

WM. MORRISON."

MR. WILLIAMS' STATEMENT.—"I have heard both the above statements read and witnessed all the facts related by Mr. Emmerson, except that I did not see where Haynes' ball struck Brownlow, until after they were separated. I was sitting in front of the store of Yancey, Gammon & Co, but did not see Haynes when he came out of Crawford's, though I saw him before he stopped. I concur with Mr. Morrison in his statement as to Haynes reply to Brownlow's question in regard to his mother, and also in hearing Brownlow say, after he was shot don't part us. I also believe with Messrs. Emmerson and Morrison that Haynes had his pistol cocked when he and Brownlow first approached each other, as he held his right hand under his coat behind him, and continued to hold it there until he fired. I also heard him deny, as those gentlemen state, three times, that he had a pistol, but think the report of the pistol and the blow with Brownlow's cane were simultaneous.

This 15th day of May 1840.

JESSE J. WILLIAMS."

"I was sitting with Mr Williams in front of Yancey, Gammon & Co's

store when Messrs Brownlow and Haynes approached each other, on the opposite side of the street, and I fully concur with him in the above statement.

This May 15th 1840.

JOHN W. GIBBONS. "

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—This Appendix has been added to this Work—not because it is of any importance to the Public to know what the *private grievances* of the writer are—but because it *refutes* the only three slanders whic will be urged, as a *set off*, against the facts arguments, and disclosures herein brought to bear against modern Democracy. This Appendix is given, moreover, because it illustrates much of the real character of the leaders of "THE PARTY" here, and of that, prince of villians, hypocrits, and political prostitutes, by which they are headed, the veritable *Editor of the Jonesborough Sentinel*.

This man *Haynes*, of the Sentinel, who had been a Whig, became a Locofoco, in 1839, when Polk was elected over Cannon. He had been a Methodist in sentiment, and in 1841, joined the Presbyterian Church. In the fall of 1842, he came forward at a Camp Meeting—made a hyocritical profession of religion—joined the Methodist Church turned out to war against the Presbyterians, and applied to the Quarterly Meeting Conference of the M E Church in Jonesborough, in November 1842, for a liscence to preach—which, unfortunatately for the Church he obtained. He was lisenced by a small Conference, in which only *eleven* votes were cast. Six weeks from the time he obtained a license, C. W. C. HARRIS, a respectable Local Preacher of this county, had him silenced, on a charge of SLANDER and FALSEHOOD. Some two months thereafter, he was convicted of these charges in the Conference of this county, by the votes of *fourteen* members; and by the votes of *thirteen* members, his liscence were taken from him. Of the *eleven* who gave him liscence to preach, *six* voted for his conviction, and *three others*, Messrs Roberts, Dillworth and Watson, have said they would have voted to convict him if they had been present !

How brief has been the career of this truly infamous man ! And what a very singular position he occupies before the country ! Here is a case for you, reader, in the person of *Laudon CULPRIT Haynes* ; a man having no settled principles, of any kind—a vain glorious creature always seeking expedients or hobbies, to gain popularity, or notoriety, and always, for the same reason, loosing more and more the confidence of all parties ! He is a living, moving, *putrified* monument of his own folly and crimes ! In him is all want of principle brought to a focus. Reader, in all soberness, we ask you the question, *what think ye of*

Haynes? The question cannot be better answered, than it is in the following highly *descriptive* lines of the Poet:—

“ A wretch whose honor’s *hourly* sold and bought,
Who *never had* an independent thought,
Whose very scanty modicum of brains
Will barely, scarcely serve to count his gains—
Who would, if he had lived in times of *old*,
Like *Judas*, sold his very God for gold,
A *lank, lean wretch*, who crouching moves along,
Despised, and knowing it, by the passing throng;
Who scoffs at aught like decency control,
And *makes his dollar*—though he DAMNS HIS SOUL.”



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